ASPECTS OF AMERICANIZATION

EDWARD HALE BIERSTADT

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ASPECTS OF AMERICANIZATION

By

EDWARD HALE BIERSTADT

WITH A FOREWORD BY

AMÉLIE RIVES

(Princess Troubetzkoy)

"God gave the fish freedom in the sea, and the birds all over the earth, but from a man they always want some sort of papers."—*A Polish Immigrant.*

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TO
A 1776% AMERICAN

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It is through the courtesy of the Cornhill Publishing Company that I am able to reprint "I Am an American," which appears in Mr. Lieberman's book "Paved Streets." The New York *Call* has kindly given me permission to use the poem "On Foreigners" which first appeared in its columns.

The date of writing has been placed at the end of each chapter for the greater convenience of the reader.

Also I wish to express my gratitude to the staff of the Foreign Language Information Service for the constant assistance they have given me and the great patience they have displayed.

E. H. B.

FOREWORD

THIS is a book in which every true American will be profoundly interested, for it deals with facts vital in themselves and vitally set forth, touching one of the greatest American questions of to-day, the question as to how the recent immigrant to this country shall be treated by the descendants of the earlier immigrants, who were our forbears.

When America entered the Great War she awoke to the realization not only of the hostile possibilities in her midst, but to the assistance that could be obtained from the so-called "aliens," people coming from the same hemisphere whence had come those who founded the nation.

How splendidly the various "alien" groups responded to the national appeal in time of danger, Mr. Bierstadt shows with facts; but he also shows how, when the war was over, the descendants of the earlier immigrants turned on these more recent immigrants with the furious hysteria of Chauvinism, and how, later, this hysteria passed into the pre-war indifference and neglect of the so-called "alien" who, whatever name men may impose upon him, is still a part of the American nation, though through that nation's own fault, an unassimilated part.

Popular phrases such as "one hundred per cent American" and "American idealism" which at times of

crisis sweep this country, have a foundation of truth, although they are often distorted from their original meaning. The aim of Mr. Bierstadt's book is certainly an instance of "American idealism," for not only is he deeply concerned with the justice due to the later immigrants, but he is quite as deeply concerned that America avail herself of the new life which these immigrants can and should add to her body politic.

As for Mr. Bierstadt himself, he seems to me an excellent example of the current phrase "one hundred per cent American" as applied in its better meaning to the mental attitude of an American citizen; but I like to remind myself, and if I may without offense, to remind others that in its literal sense "one hundred per cent American" only applies to the Red Indian whom we dispossessed of the land which we call America.

Sanity, courage, real patriotism, and a sound knowledge of the facts with which he deals are the moving forces in this volume, and it is therefore that I say it is a book in which all true Americans will be profoundly interested.

AMÉLIE RIVES
(Princess Troubetzkoy)

Castle Hill, Virginia.
November 3, 1921.

INTRODUCTION

I

TWO things are of essential and primary importance in Americanization—a point of view, and exact information in which to embody it. By far the greater proportion of those engaged in Americanization work can be divided into two classes—those who have the right point of view but who lack the information necessary to give it practical value, and those who, having the information, are possessed of a point of view which is influenced and warped by ulterior motives which in themselves frustrate any actually constructive effort.

It has been my endeavor in this book to indicate beyond any question what I believe the correct point of view to be, and also to supply in some measure a portion of that concrete data which the worker in Americanization will need. And it is not only to the actual workers that I make my appeal. Not only every citizen but every resident even of the United States is influenced in some wise by the problems arising from the situation of the immigrant in America to-day. I can recall no popular movement other, perhaps, than a war which has assumed the proportions of Americanization. North, south, east, and west, in great cities, in small towns, in villages even, the interest in the immigrant is acute if not profound. Nine-tenths of the great national organizations have

Americanization programs. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Knights of Columbus, the American Legion, the National Federation of Women's Clubs, are all actively engaged, as well as many others. And this does not take into account any of the numerous local measures entered into by chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and what-not. Indeed so many thousands of people are trying to-day to Americanize so many other thousands that it seems to be high time that the cohorts of the enlightened really learn something about the question and the people they have attacked so boldly.

For the past two years I have been connected with an organization which has performed a unique service in this field, and it has been my privilege to observe intensive Americanization at first hand. Thus my own point of view has been built upon a successful experiment, upon a work which in fact has now long since gone past the experimental stage, the status of which is recognized at once by the Federal Government and by the foreign born as being authoritative. This organization does not speak through me, for its purpose is to give service, not opinions. It has served me, however, not only as a source of information, but as a criterion of excellence as well.

II

It was once given to me to see in a single moment the immigrant standing between the two Americas, that toward which he was striving, and that which was presently to engulf him.

INTRODUCTION

It was in the railway station of a Pennsylvania steel town. The smoke from the engines mixed with the smoke rising from the steel mills in the valley, and together they thickened the atmosphere until one felt the grime, tasted the grime, and smelled the grime. The air was hazy with the smoke and the sun, sinking toward the horizon, was partially obscured by it. It was as though one were in some strange world, swinging in soot instead of ether.

I had bought my ticket and had turned to leave the station when I noticed a commotion at one of the train gates. Officials were pushing back the crowd and clearing a lane from the gate to the outer doors. I thought that some great personage must be coming and, like the others, I stood to one side and waited. The train gate swung back, and through it came a crowd of immigrants. There were several hundred of them—men, women, and children fresh from the ship, many still wearing their native costumes. They were Slavs, and their clothes were bright with color, the slashed bodices and green skirts of the women mingling with the knee breeches and white shirts of the men. They came through the gate slowly yet eagerly, as one might enter a cathedral filled with desire and yet half afraid. As they came the sinking sun cast a shaft on a gilt dome far down at the end of the street that ran straight away from the outer doors of the station. Over the dome was the American flag. Through the grime and murkiness the dying sunlight lit the flag for a moment and deepened the dull gilt of the dome into bright gold. The immigrants saw. One of the women drew her children to her, while with the other hand she pointed up and out to the flag on which the last rays

of the sun rested. Some of the men looked and uncovered quickly. To them it was a symbol of that which they had sought and suffered to attain. And while we watched, the sun sank below the horizon and there was only the dirt and soot shot with occasional flame driving up from the great blast furnaces in the valley. It was to the valley the immigrants were being taken. There they would live, watching the driven grime turn the faces of their children gray and sifting through their clothes to tattoo their bodies with its mark. The flag would be lost to them. All that they hoped it to mean would in time become a mockery. The end of their journey was the grime. Yet I knew, for I knew their kind, that they would never lose faith; that what they were denied they would still hope and struggle for, so that their children might one day realize that which they would die still wanting.

III

I do not believe that popular misconception has ever gone farther astray than in its point of view on our immigrant population. In the last few years the immigrant has been graduated perforce from his position as a problem to assume the doubtful dignity of a menace. Yet he is not nor has he ever been one. In point of actual fact he has been almost inexplicably loyal. I say inexplicably, for I do not know how great a percentage of our native born would have gone through what the immigrant has been forced through, especially since the War, without open revolt. Not many I hope. From the time before the War, when he was thought to be only a "Wop," "Dago," or "Hunkie" to those fearful two years after the armistice, when he

was placarded as a "red radical," a "Bolshevist," and a "foreign menace," the immigrant, with his press and his organizations, has held fast to his faith in America.

When the societies and people's houses of the Russians and Ukrainians were being raided and wrecked, their members clubbed and beaten and sometimes killed, the foreign-language press reiterated again and again the appeal to its readers to remember that these injustices were on the part of individuals; that they did not represent the nation. And the immigrant stood firm. As for me, a native born, whose forefathers came here two hundred years or more ago, I felt only an overpowering disgust that we had fallen so low as not only to permit these things, but to encourage them. One of the officials of the Department of Justice in New York, a man hardened and old in the work, told me that even he was sickened when the Russians from the People's House were brought in hacked and bruised and bleeding. He said that from very shame he had stayed with his men until late that night, trying to clean the blood from the floor of his office. And yet the greater American public gave no sign other perhaps than of approval. Was this Americanization? It has been called so. Yet these people were guiltless.

I do not wish to sentimentalize about the foreign born. Nothing could be more disastrous. Moreover, sentimentality is not needed to drive home the point that in our dealings with the immigrant we have been unutterably stupid. We have been unsympathetic; we have been lacking in understanding or even in the desire to understand; and we have been cruel. These things are no more than stupid, but equally they are no less. Their effect on the immigrant needs no com-

ment. Their effect on the nation appears to have been overlooked. Nothing could be more inimical to the interests of any country than that pseudo-patriotism, that chauvinism which springs from prejudice and fear. Every avoidable war in history has been fought upon that basis. "My country, right or wrong, my country" is the creed of fools and weaklings: fools because they cannot see the truth, and weaklings because they dare not face it. Surely the love that understands all and forgives all is better, finer, and more lasting than the blind passion that turns in on itself and festers, only to poison all with whom it comes in contact. That phrase and one other, "the melting pot," have become our chief stumbling-blocks in achieving anything even approximating national unity. For, by "the melting pot" we mean a crucible which we alone shall construct, under which we shall light the fires of our making, and into which we shall throw any and all ingredients which we regard as foreign to our own. If it is ever to become effective in the greater, truer sense, the "melting pot" must mean that into which are cast foreign and native born alike to be fused together into a single entity in which there can be nothing alien because there will be nothing base.

EDWARD HALE BIERSTADT.

December, 1921.

I Am An American

I am an American.
My father belongs to the Sons of the Revolution,
My mother to the Colonial Dames.
One of my ancestors pitched tea overboard in Boston Harbor;
Another stood his ground with Warren;
Another hungered with Washington at Valley Forge.
My forefathers were America in the making;
They spoke in her council halls;
They died on her battlefields;
They commanded her ships;
They cleared her forests.
Dawns reddened and paled.
Staunch hearts of mine beat fast at each new star
In the nation's flag.
Keen eyes of mine foresaw her greater glory;
The sweep of her seas,
The plenty of her plains,
The man-hives in her billion-wired cities.
Every drop of blood in me holds a heritage of patriotism.
I am proud of my past.
I am an American.

I am an American.
My father was an atom of dust,
My mother a straw in the wind,
To His Serene Majesty.
One of my ancestors died in the mines of Siberia;
Another was crippled for life by twenty blows of the knout;
Another was killed defending his home during the massacres.
The history of my ancestors is a trail of blood
To the palace gate of the Great White Czar.
But then the dream came—
The dream of America.
In the light of the Liberty torch
The atom of dust became a man
And the straw in the wind became a woman
For the first time.

"See," said my father, pointing to the flag that fluttered
near,
"That flag of stars and stripes is yours;
It is the emblem of the promised land.
It means, my son, the hope of humanity.
Live for it—die for it!"
Under the open sky of my new country I swore to do so;
And every drop of blood in me will keep that vow.
I am proud of my future.
I am an American.

—Elias Lieberman.

ASPECTS OF AMERICANIZATION

I

AMERICANIZATION

THERE is a quality of immediacy in American thought and action that sometimes acts as a red herring across the trail of constructive endeavor. The knowledge that a step ought to be taken is too often simultaneous with the step itself. We leap first, and if we look at all, it is after we have stumbled. That is the trouble with Americanization.

Before the War we hardly realized that we had an immigrant population. Most of us simply took it for granted when we thought of it at all, and it was left for a few sociologists, economists, and special workers in the field to deal with the problem of assimilation from whatever particular angle their point of view engendered. Opposed to these were powerful industrial interests who thought of the immigrant wholly in terms of "manpower," and to whose direct advantage it was to keep him unassimilated, un-Americanized, and as isolated and ignorant as possible so that he would be less likely to make demands upon them. The American workman knows the American standard of living and requires it of his employer; the immigrant usually knows little of either our social or economic standards, and so is not in a position to assert himself.

Often he is blamed for not living up to the criterion set him in this country by the native born, but such blame is unjust. He is a stranger in a strange land, and, sadly enough, it has been to the apparent advantage of many of those who employed him to keep him so.

During the War this condition underwent a marked change. For the first time there was a national need for the immigrant. We needed him for the army and for munitions works; we needed his money for Liberty Loans and for Red Cross drives. It was therefore essential that we reach him not simply as a unit of production, but as a human being, because what we were requiring of him were human qualities—patriotism, loyalty, and unselfishness. The story of how he was reached and his response is too long for narration here, but there are a few outstanding facts that are very indicative.

The work really began on the 4th of July, 1918, when a representative of each of the thirty-five foreign-language groups of the United States met with the President at Washington's tomb, there to renew their oath of allegiance and to repledge themselves to the nation.[1] No such gathering had ever been made before. It was the logical sequence of the Declaration of Independence when the representatives of the original thirteen States foregathered in solemn conclave. From then on the way was clear. The foreign-language press, the societies and organizations of the foreign born, and the men and women themselves gave as freely and as selflessly as any among the native Americans. There were hundreds of thousands of

[1] See Appendix B.

them in our army;[2] their press published many millions of words in the effort to stimulate and educate the readers to a proper concept of the national situation; the readers themselves and those who could not read gave themselves and their possessions to the cause we and they had made our own.[3] During the Fourth Liberty Loan the Russians of New York City alone gave $20,000,000. And they are not rich, these Russians in America. One is tempted to go into too great detail, to try to tell too much, to welter in statistics showing just how much the foreign born did do. But, even so, we ought not to have to be told; we ought to know.

After the armistice the wheel turned again as suddenly as it had turned before and now, instead of finding himself neglected and ignored, as he had been before the War, or praised and fêted as he was during it, the immigrant became aware that he was actually hated and feared. No wonder that he could not understand. Precisely what psychology lay behind this newly conceived attitude of the native born toward the foreign born it is somewhat difficult to comprehend. Probably it was a mixture of post-war hysteria left over from our spy scares and from German propaganda, a natural fear of Bolshevism which manifested itself as a terror of all radicalism and of all foreigners, and an excess of concentrated nervous tension which would not permit us to let down suddenly from war pitch. Our accumulated hatred was left unsatisfied by the armistice and demanded a victim; if not Germany, then anyone who spoke with the detested foreign

[2] See Chapter X and Appendix A.

[3] See Chapter X and Appendix F, Note 2.

accent. Whatever its cause, it was a sad business for the immigrant, who found himself booted and badgered on every side, his every move misinterpreted, and his slightest error regarded as a crime. In dealing with this subject one cannot hope to dodge the unpleasant fact that the greatest single factor in stimulating and spreading this anti-alien hysteria was the Department of Justice as it was then constituted. A new administration is in Washington now, and we can deal with those three years as with history, with no animus and with no recrimination. It appeared to be to the interest of the Department to emphasize and even to aggravate the feeling against the immigrant, and it was fatally successful in its efforts. The foreign-language press was attacked violently on every side as seditious and Red Radical, in spite of its services to the country during the war. In the vast number of instances these attacks were entirely unwarranted, and it may be truly stated that not two per cent of the foreign-language press was or is so incendiary as certain well-known and well-recognized publications in English, conducted for and by the native born. Foreign-language organizations were preyed upon as hotbeds of radicalism, and more than one immigrant school that was trying to reduce the percentage of illiteracy was raided and its students taken away in police wagons and in ambulances.[1] Deportation was the order of the day. Immigrants were arrested because they had been seen at radical meetings, though in some instances it was proved that they had gone there to protest. One hundred Russians meeting together in the open to discuss the mysteries of the alien

[1] See Chapter III.

income tax were arrested. A Government agent was arrested and held *incommunicado* because he was addressing a meeting in a foreign tongue. It was dangerous either to speak anything other than English in public or even to be seen with a red necktie. Men actually were arrested for both these offenses. Idiocy ran riot and the immigrant paid the bills. Soon, instead of protesting at being deported, they begged for it. Anything to get out of the country. They had been treated no worse under the Czar, the Kaiser, or whatever ruler they had once regarded as a despot. It was, and is, incredible that a nation which boasts of being the greatest democracy in history should so lose its head as to wallow in a debauch of feudalism such as no democracy has ever seen before. But we are getting over that now. The thunder still rumbles, but the rain has stopped. We are still enthusiastically interested and concerned with Americanization, but we are in a less apprehensive mood.

H. G. Wells once spoke of a certain type of person as being a "God-saker," because he periodically became aware that something ought to be done about something else, and instead of doing it, rushed frantically about, crying "For God's sake let's do *something!*" The opposite extreme seems to have been reached in America, where, without stopping to consider what should be done and how we should do it, we jump into the fray not only careless of ourselves, but even of those whom we desire to rescue. There can be no progression unless one knows where one is progressing from and what one is progressing toward. This is appallingly true of that most subtle and difficult of national problems, Americanization. The so-

cial, political, and economic background of the various immigrant groups, their social, political, and economic status in this country; what they hoped to find here and why they hoped to find it; what they did find and why they found it—all this must be thoroughly learned and digested before one can even begin to approach the problem of what must be done to attain the desired result. And, after all, what is that result? What do we mean by Americanization? To the immigrant it smacks too shrewdly of Prussianization and Russianization, both of which many of them have experienced, to be wholly palatable. To some of us, however, Americanization means the creation of a mutual sympathy and understanding which will eventually weld into one the many units composing our national destiny. To many it appears to mean simply something done to somebody by someone else. That is, it is a condition to be *imposed*. If it is that, and if it is no more nor less than that, we had best be rid of it at once. If there is no reciprocity in Americanization, there is only harm. If the native born are not to benefit as well as the foreign born, the breach will only grow wider. Americanization must mean the blending of all nationalities on American soil, including our own; it must not mean simply the engulfing of all other nationalities in ours. That is egomania.

Whatever preconceived idea the immigrant has of our form of government is based primarily on his knowledge of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. When we say that we stand for free speech, free press, and free assemblage, he takes us literally at our word. These things have ceased to mean much to us native born. We have taken them

for granted for so long that we do not even realize that we no longer have them. In most instances the immigrant has never enjoyed these liberties, and comes here to seek them. His desire for them is traditional with him. He is as direct in his requirement of these things as were the colonists in 1775. No wonder, then, that his point of view does not entirely square with ours.

It appears to be possible, however, that he is in the right and we in the wrong in this. It is we who have forgotten and he who has remembered. The situation demands a gradual process of education before the immigrant will come really to know just what liberties we offer him and exactly what obligations these liberties entail. He will have to learn that we are essentially a nation of catch-phrases, and that if he takes these little social and political anxioms at their face value he will find himself at odds with us. When we say that "all men are created free and equal" we are more than apt to follow the statement with a But: when we talk of free speech, free press, and free assemblage we immediately take issue with ourselves in pointing a vast number of exceptions to all of these things; and when we assert that this is a "land of equal opportunity," we do not desire to have to prove it. These foibles of ours the immigrant must learn, but

"Of our population of 110,000,000, one person out of every seven was born outside of the United States; one out of every three was foreign-born or of foreign parentage. In other words, there are over 13,000,000 persons of foreign birth and over 20,000,000 of foreign parentage. Fully one-third of our total population is of foreign-born stock. Of the 33,000,000 persons of foreign birth or foreign stock in the United States, 31.1% are English or Celtic; 28.5% are Germanic; 13.3% are Latin or Greek; 10.1% are Slavic or Lettic; 9% are Scandinavian; 7.1% are unclassified; 1% are unknown."—From *Bridging the Atlantic*, by Professor Sarka B. Hrbkova.

they must come to him naturally, slowly, inevitably; not with the shock that accompanies forcible deportation or with that rancor that follows a raid on his club and the suppression of his favorite newspaper. In short, we must remember that the immigrant is not only a problem, but also a human being who, while he may differ from us for better or worse intellectually, is possessed of the same sensibilities as our own and is kept alive by the same set of emotions. Indeed, since, he is a stranger, and particularly since he has undergone somewhat severe maltreatment, his sensibilities are apt to be overfine at times, and his emotions are quite likely to express themselves somewhat floridly. We must take all this into consideration in dealing with him.

There is not the shadow of a doubt but that Americanization is the favorite pastime of America to-day. From every section of the country, from great cities, and from towns so small that their alien population is limited to one family, come reports of Americanization activities. The local Legion post is acting on it; the town clerk is making an address telling what it means; a fund is being raised to carry it on; every possible angle is being taken and every possible means utilized to do something about it. The trouble is that there is no unification of thought, no coördination of effort, no general agreement as to just what Americanization is. In the minds of most of those actively engaged in the work it probably resolves itself simply into anti-radical and anti-foreign propaganda. It is not my purpose here to remark either on radicals or conservatives, but it is quite plain that true Americanization and any form of propaganda cannot exist together.

One must come to this work with his mind free from prejudices and his hands clean of any selfish gain. The three predominant points of view on the immigrant to-day regard him as a political-menace, an industrial-unit, and a refractory-child. Until we free ourselves from all of these and substitute for them the simple conception of the foreign inhabitant of our country as a normal human being, forced to live for the moment under abnormal conditions, we cannot realize the true essence of Americanization, namely, that it is these conditions that need Americanizing far more than those unfortunate immigrants who are obliged to undergo them. When we are once able to see the immigrant as a man or a woman not very unlike ourselves, who may be won over to our point of view when he thoroughly comprehends it, and who himself may contribute something of value to our own life and experience, and so enlarge the very Americanism we are endeavoring to teach him, then, and only then, can Americanization become a constructive force. As it operates now it is a menace to ourselves and to those whom we would Americanize.

August, 1921.

II

EDUCATING THE IMMIGRANT

As a matter of fact, most of the questions affecting the immigrant in America, his relationship to the national life and its relationship to him, come back at the last to the problem of education. Before anything else must come education. He cannot begin actually to become a part of the country until he knows its language, can read its books and periodicals, and understand something more of its history than can be gained by reference to a mere text-book. The question we have to ask at the present moment is: Are we educating the alien adequately and properly, and how is he responding to our efforts?[1]

Such facts as have been gained seem to indicate that we have not approached this problem either understandingly or sympathetically. We resent the fact that the immigrant does not know instinctively the very things that we ought to teach him.

A few answers to a questionnaire sent out to a large number of Russians in the United States may throw some light on this. In reply to the question asking what they wanted to learn, one answered: "If I do go back to Russia I want to be able to help the Russian peasantry, and therefore while I am here I want to study scientific agriculture. I want to become what I have decided to be, namely, a man useful to humanity." "If you only can," writes a Russian from Gary, In-

[1] See Appendix F, Note 1.

diana, "satisfy our longing to learn about America, please do it, but do it, of course, in the Russian language."

Mr. A. Kosygin, who has been working among the Russians in this country for several years, and is himself a Russian, writes: "Let the American Government organize special houses for the workmen here, where educational motion pictures could be shown them. Let the immigrant see America in pictures; let him see her progress. Show him the American farms, cities, mines, and forests, and the many other things which will help the immigrant to see and understand America. Publish in the Russian language pamphlets on the history and geography of America, and you will see that the immigrant will like America better after really studying her."

And again, from a farm in the Middle West: "I love America and I shall live here till the end of my life. I am now an American citizen, but I do not know English. My aim is to master the English language. I am studying, but I do not succeed. Please advise me what I shall do." And another writes pointedly: "It is not enough to have evening schools where the teachers speak only English. We read a word or learn it without knowing what it means and what it is used for; so it is dead for us, though it might be a word that we need very much. That is where the incongruity comes in. I think that every country benefits from intelligent and educated inhabitants. That is why I think it is time to change America's attitude toward the immigrant, and to help them to organize their homes here and to familiarize them with the language. I think that many Russians would like to remain here

forever and to understand the Americans instead of having misunderstandings, quarrels, and cursings going on. Now all the Americans think that all the Russians are Bolsheviki and interested only in politics, but there are many of us who are of a different type." Let us pile up the evidence taken at random from letters. Here is a more or less educated Russian from New York speaking: "I speak very bad English. Going to the evening school did not do me very much good. In these schools seven-eighths of all the time is spent in preaching patriotism and also in getting subscriptions for the Liberty Loans. I think this is not right. A school is a place for study only. If a school should be opened in New York where the pupils would have to pay a small tuition, and where English would be taught in a purely scientific method to the foreigners who wish to learn to speak good English (not only colloquial English and slang which the evening schools are teaching now), I am sure that the school would not be big enough for all those who would desire to enter it.[1] The desire for knowledge is very great among all the Russians, for to learn is the principal aim of their lives in America. They all want to study a specialty, but this specialty should be taught them in their own language, which they well understand." A Russian workman from Cleveland writes: "All the

[1] "Provide night schools with competent, sensible, practical instruction. Not the sort where mature men and women of foreign nationality, eager to learn a little useful English, drudge through such senseless drivel as this, which was reported in an Eastern night school: 'I am a little yellow birdie. I can sing. I can fly. Shall I twitter to you?' In another school this brilliant gem was drilled into the foreigners: 'I see the moon, the moon sees me; God bless the moon, God bless me.' "—From *Bridging the Atlantic*, by Professor Sarka B. Hrbkova.

Russian colony, almost without exception, is devoted to study. The Russians are mostly interested in agriculture, in the study of tractors and automobiles. Our misfortunes lie in the fact that we cannot get an instructor who can speak Russian, and get Russian books on the subjects that are of interest to us." Another workman from Albany writes: "There is a great desire among the Russians for education. They mostly want to learn from popular literature. Education is very much needed now, for ignorance leads people to Bolshevism and Anarchism. But though there is a bureau to help the Russians in America, nothing yet has been done to help the education in Albany. Here the Russian colony tried to create a union of Russian citizens for purely educational purposes and without any political aims. But the police did not like it and did not permit us to meet for conferences and lectures." The same bitterness against the town officials and other native born is expressed in many other letters. A Russian workman from Homestead writes: "The Russian colony in Homestead numbers about 1,500 men. They are all 'dark' people; that is, uneducated and illiterate. We need an elementary school, but we have no teachers, and the Americans consider every desire to organize something a Bolshevist movement. We need an elementary school and instruction in tractors, automobiles, mechanics, and agriculture." Here is a rather typical case: "I have lived in America for five years. In the beginning I was interested in many things and believed in everything with an open soul. But once, in 1917, I decided to study automobiles. But do you know what they are doing here? They are trying to get your money, and as soon as

they have gotten it they do not care any more what happens to you. I paid $50 for a course, and for this money I had the pleasure of riding in an automobile for six times, forty-one minutes every time. That is American science! And beside this tuition, I had to pay money to satisfy the instructor. There is much injustice going on, and when one does not know the American law one is always guilty." There is a glint of humor in this letter, it is true, but there is also a touch of pathos and an indication that we would do well to heed. The situation of the Russians is perfectly typical of the situation as a whole.

For example, we see many Lithuanians flocking to night schools in the fall and gradually dispersing by the middle of winter. The excuse for quitting school is that they cannot understand the teacher. If they succeed in getting a teacher who can speak Lithuanian they are not only glad to stay all winter, but they will pay for the teacher in the bargain. In Chicago, Boston, and some other cities there are organized Lithuanian night and day schools to teach English, civics, and other matters of importance to potential citizens. The foreign-language press does very good work here. A Lithuanian immigrant learns much concerning America from his press. Those who can read English are always proud to read the American periodicals, but those who cannot, have to depend on the Lithuanian. There is no need to cite further instances. Examples could be given which are just as forceful which affect every foreign-language group in the United States. What applies to one applies to all, not always with equal force, but pertinently enough to permit a generalization.

We are not doing all we can to educate the immigrant; we are not teaching him those things which would be useful to him or to us through him. The Government is making certain efforts, to a great extent worth while, but these efforts are small compared to what might, and ought to be, done. We apparently lack understanding, and, lacking that, we fail to sympathize with the immigrant or to appreciate the manifest results of our own incompetence. The Polish population in certain parts of the country have found it impossible to coöperate in many of the misdirected attempts to educate them, and have fallen back upon their own resources as best they can. Sometimes this is possible and sometimes it is not. As we have seen, in the case of the Russians any effort to congregate, even for the most innocent educational purposes, has been stamped out as Bolshevism. Relatively few Russians in this country are Bolshevists, and of those who are there are few who believe in Bolshevism for any country other than their own. Our attitude in this connection is not only absurd, but even highly dangerous. Bolshevists are made, not born.

One other phase of this problem is pertinent to this discussion: That is the attitude and point of view of some employers of immigrant labor. Mind, not *all*, but *some*. In many instances and in many ways it has been, and is, possible for these men to educate the immigrants in their employ, but they have rarely, if ever, done so. Why not? Because to do so would mean a higher-priced laborer; a man who would not be content with sweat-shop wages; one who would soon come not only to know his rights but to demand

them. In many thousands of instances in this country to-day the immigrant has not been educated, because it was to the direct advantage of the employer to keep him in ignorance. If many employers had dealt fairly with their immigrant employees in the past, the disastrous confusion in reference to the alien income tax law, for instance, would have been, if not avoided, to a great extent mitigated. As it is, the immigrant has been so carefully kept in total darkness concerning his rights in this country that he is at the mercy of everyone to whose advantage it is to do him out of them. He realizes too late what has happened, and his point of view on America is permanently deformed, warped beyond repair. It is not that America has done this thing with malice aforethought, with a directly evil intent. But we have been stupid, we have been hasty, we have been lacking in understanding, in sympathy, blinded by our own prejudices and superstitions. All that we need now to straighten the tangle is a modicum of applied common sense. We must find out what it is that the immigrant actually needs, not merely what we think he ought to need, and we must set ourselves to the task of seeing that he gets it. In that way, and only in that way, can we hope to make the immigrant not only an American citizen, but also an American patriot; not only a cog in our industrial wheel, but also a friend and neighbor.

November, 1919.

III

RUSSIAN EDUCATION IN AMERICA

EVER since the Russian revolution of 1917 the Russian immigrants in the United States have awakened to the fact that an uneducated citizen will in large part be unable to enjoy the advantages offered him in a free country. They might have realized this long before, and in terms of this country rather than Russia, but their situation here has been such that America has never seemed to them especially free, and in any event the liberation of Russia has become traditional and symbolic to them. Even before 1917 Russian organizations and societies had made attempts to organize schools, but these were mostly for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda, with a view to fitting those who returned to Russia to struggle effectively against the Czaristic régime. It must be well understood, however, that this propaganda was at no time aimed at this country, but only at the Russia of the past.

The foundation for a more comprehensive school system was laid by the Russian Educational Conference in Chicago during December of 1918. At that convention there were present about forty delegates, representing the larger groups of Russians in this country who were interested in adult education. The convention discussed the question at length of organizing a central Russian People's University, which would in time establish branches in every state which

had a Russian population. The underlying idea was to educate those who were illiterate either in English or in Russian up to the point where they would be able to take advantage of the higher education offered them by the schools and colleges of this country; that is, the Russian People's University was to take the place left vacant by the failure of our elementary and secondary schools in their dealings with the immigrant. The University was organized with about one hundred students, who soon complained that the faculty was far too academic for them. This dissatisfaction increased until the end of 1919, at which time the faculty was forced to withdraw. The University was entirely reorganized, though it retained its original name. At present it has about four hundred students, and teaches Russian and English grammar, mathematics, technical sciences, American agriculture, the use of the tractor, automotive science, geography, and history. In a certain sense the Russian People's University to-day may be compared with the Rand School of New York. That is, it does not propagandize or proselyte along political lines, but there is a distinct political bias of a radical trend. There are those who will be reassured to know that their "technical science" does not, however, include the making of bombs!

Perhaps the next largest Russian educational institution in this country is the Society for Technical Help to Soviet Russia, located in New York. The title is self-explanatory. The chief aim of the society is to fit men for the work of reconstructing Russia. Illiterates are taught to read and write, and those who are not illiterate are placed in classes where various technical sciences are taught. This school has about

six hundred students. It may be noted here that the more radical elements among the Russians are usually more desirous of education than the conservatives. It is asserted, and with apparent reason, that the Russian Church has never encouraged adult education either in Russian or in American schools in the fear that such education would tend to lessen its grip on the mass of the Russian colony.

Probably the most important factor in Russian education in America is the Russian Collegiate Institute of New York. This institute is entirely without political bias of any kind. Its work is divided into three departments: Preparatory (Russian school); Special (technical and agricultural), and Academic (lectures on more general subjects). In the report of the institute for 1920 it is stated that 110 students were enrolled in the Preparatory, while the figures for the Special and Academic are not given. It is noted, however, that 50,000 attended lectures that year. The curriculum is too long to give here, but it is excellent in its scope and in its direct approach to the problems under discussion. In 1920, 278 lectures were given, 121 of them at the institute and 157 outside.

Cities which are industrial centers, such as Waterbury, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Detroit, have schools not unlike the Society for Technical Help. The attendance varies from 50 to 500 students. The Detroit school is one of the largest in the country, but in spite of this, the students, not satisfied with the educational facilities it had to offer (it is hard pressed for money, of course), organized themselves into groups of thirty or forty to attend the Michigan Agricultural

College. As soon as one group finished with a course the next group started in.

There is a marked drift from cities where there are no Russian schools, and where Russians have been led to mistrust American schools, into such centers as offer educational advantages. The Russian press carries many letters from many different cities, complaining that there are no schools which Russians may attend. This means that there are no schools with Russian teachers, or even American schools which welcome Russians. An attempt was made in Detroit in the summer of 1920 to interest the city school authorities in the educational problem of the Russians. Several rooms were turned over to them in a technical high school, and certain other facilities of the school were given them also. Several hundred Russians attended the school enthusiastically, with the result that many of them remained in the regular classes conducted by the city. It was too good to last. One of the local newspapers raised the cry that the city schools were being "Bolshevized," and the Russians were turned out at once. Racial hatred was stirred up against the Russians, who, on their part, felt that it was not worth while to attend any school that demanded a clearance certificate of one's political beliefs. It was by no means an unusual situation.

Some of the Russian churches maintain parochial schools, but these are only for children. After 1917 those schools, which were subsidized by the Russian government, began to diminish rapidly, and at best the parochial schools taught only the Russian language and the canons of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Here are three announcements which are typical of Russian schools throughout the country: The Russian Workman's Mutual Society of Baltimore advertises: "We have just opened a technical school. The following trades will be taught: automobile repairing, blacksmith work, and general mechanics. Classes will also be started for illiterates and for those desiring to learn drafting." Here is one from Connecticut: "To all Russians of Ansonia: Some time ago the Russians of this city decided to open an automobile school. A lecturer was invited, and he explained the importance of automobiles and tractors. After the lecture pupils enrolled in the new school. Forty men have expressed their willingness to study these subjects. A suitable building has been found, machines have been bought, and the school is in full operation day and night. We ask all Russians of Ansonia to take advantage of the school." Another, from Massachusetts. This is an appeal issued by a club calling itself "Enlightenment": "We invite all Russians to join our educational club. Do not spend your time and money in vain, in playing cards or billiards. Many of you are preparing to go back to Russia, and there all, young and old, are learning something. It is folly for you to return to Russia knowing no more than when you left there."

This last will indicate particularly the impetus given education in this country by the news that the Soviet government wanted trained and educated citizens. The revolution that they had waited for for generations had come, and they must fit themselves to take advantage of their opportunities for their own sake and for that of their country. The reference to cards and billiards relates to the great dropping off of attendance

in all Russian schools after the Palmer raids. The Russians were disheartened. They stayed at home and loafed in their spare time. They feared to meet together in a school. They knew too well what would happen.

The following figures will show the enrollment of Russians in American night schools in industrial centers:

City	Enrollment	Approximate Russian Population
Elizabeth, N. J.	42	2,000
Paterson, N. J.	12	Over 1,000
Passaic, N. J.	43	" 1,000
Bayonne, N. J.	Very few	1,000
Lawrence, Mass.	6	" 2,000
Chelsea, Mass.	13	500
Boston, Mass.	Practically none	" 8,000
*Pittsburgh, Pa.	9	" 12,000
Wilmington, Del.	87 in two years	500
Baltimore, Md.	169	3,500
Scranton, Pa.	22	2,000
Ansonia, Conn.	12	1,500
Gary, Ind.	134	" 3,000
Detroit, Mich.	Hardly any	" 20,000

Against this we have the following figures, showing the attendance at some Russian schools. These figures all dropped, however, after the schools had been raided by the Department of Justice:

Detroit	Over 600
Chicago	" 400
Pittsburgh	125
Boston	" 400
Waterbury	About 400

The foregoing facts point with unmistakable directness to several conclusions: First, that our own school system has been a complete failure so far as the adult

* None since Palmer raids.

Russians are concerned. Second, that it has failed because of its inherent inability to cope either with the problem of adult education in general or with the task of immigrant education in particular. Third, that Russians are particularly desirous of obtaining educational advantages, especially along certain indicated technical lines. And last, that instead of trying to make our own school system sufficiently flexible to include these prospective citizens, we have in many instances driven them from our schools when they sought entrance there and violently closed their own schools when they were forced, through our neglect, to fall back on their own resources.

July, 1921.

IV

THE IMMIGRANT AND THE INCOME TAX

THE complication of the income tax situation, so far as it affected the immigrant in America, is so little understood that it may be well to start with an attempt at a rough outline which will give some idea of the peculiarity of the conditions.[1]

During the first years of the War aliens were not taxed at all, as aliens, if their incomes were under $4,000 or $5,000. In October of 1918, however, a law was passed taxing all aliens two per cent on their entire income for 1916 and 1917. Also at this time a law went into effect imposing a tax of one per cent on all alien incomes during the years of 1913, 1914, and 1915. This law was retroactive obviously, and the conditions of collection made it doubly difficult. The employer, in the case of aliens, is constituted by the Government a "withholding agent," empowered to collect taxes from alien employees by withholding money from the wages due. In the case of this retroactive law the wages from which the tax should have been collected had already been paid and the employer, in a panic lest he himself have to pay the sums, simply withheld a lump amount in many cases which covered or nearly covered the tax. This left the employee from whom the sum had been collected with no wages

[1] See report of the Foreign Language Information Service in Appendix.

coming in for weeks or months. He had nothing on which to live, and in some cases was reduced to destitution.

The next step was the passing of the Revenue Bill on the 25th of February, 1919, which reduced the situation to sheer chaos. This bill imposed a tax of twelve per cent on the incomes of all non-resident aliens for the year 1918, and up to the time the bill was passed. Thereafter a tax of eight per cent was imposed. Resident aliens were taxed a straight six per cent, as in the case of ordinary citizens. These taxes were, of course, in addition to the taxes already mentioned. The bill, however, provided for certain exceptions and exemptions. There were three classes of non-resident aliens to be taxed according to the outline prepared: Class "A" specified a list of some fourteen or fifteen countries which either impose no income tax at all or, in imposing one, allow American citizens both a personal exemption and an exemption for dependents which satisfy the similar requirements of our own statute. In a word, it was a matter of reciprocity. Class "B" specified a similar list of countries, but ones which, allowing a personal exemption to American citizens, do not allow exemptions for dependents. Class "C" covered all non-resident aliens who were not included in either of the other two classes, and these were permitted no exemption whatever on any portion of their incomes and were taxed to the full amount.

There were at least two fundamental causes for acute complication. The first was that the map of Europe was in so great a state of confusion that the lists of countries and provinces changed almost over

night, and were most difficult not only to keep track of, but even to define. Remember that this information had to be brought to the attention of all employers of aliens as well as to the aliens themselves. It was a gigantic task and it was necessarily bungled. The second reason for trouble lay in the fact that no definition was made of the "non-resident alien," and it was fully ten weeks before this phrase was given official interpretation. Meanwhile the law was strangling in its own red tape. Finally it was said that a resident alien was one who had no immediate intention of returning to his own country, or who had no immediate intention of making any other country than this his home. A form (1078) which contained this declaration was sent to employers, who were instructed to have all those sign it who desired to. This led in many instances to the classing of others, who, for some reason, did not sign the form, as non-resident aliens and the imposition of the full tax. In the case of a resident the employer was not constituted the withholding agent, and he was thus naturally desirous of having his employees all resident, as that would do away with the complicated bookkeeping the taxation of the non-resident entailed. Actuated partly by this desire and partly also by a mistaken idea of patriotism, a great many employers forced their laborers either to sign Form 1078 or to submit to discharge. In this way thousands were put out of work. There were two reasons for this: First, both employer and employee were more than a little vague concerning the exact meaning of these forms, but they both suspected, quite without warrant, that Form 1078 was much the same as the Declaration of Intention, or the "first

papers" taken out in the step toward citizenship. Hence the employer felt that he was taking a patriotic stand in making citizens, even by force, and the alien, having traditional fear of signing anything, feared that he was being trapped. There was a perfectly natural disinclination on the part of the alien, at this special time, to promise to stay in America. He wanted to see his family in Europe, of whom he might not have heard in years. He had a little property there perhaps which certainly wanted looking after, and he was desirous of seeing the effects of the emancipation for which he and his forebears had watched and waited for long generations. It was not that he wanted to go and stay, but he did not want to promise that he would *not* go. However, Form 1078 did not complete the disaster; there was still another:

This was Form 1115, which was a claim for exemption under either Class "A" or "B." For some reason this form was not given the wide circulation and publicity that its predecessor had had. Neither the employers nor the Government tax collectors were properly informed, and the natural result was that many thousands of aliens were overtaxed. At the New York Customs House alone it is estimated that in a period of about six months $1,000,000 was mistakenly collected from aliens. This was done wholly in error, through a faulty interpretation of an impossible law. So far as was possible, refunds were made. The natural result of this was resentment on the part of those who were submitted to it. The employer was not obliged to give a receipt to the employee for the taxes collected, and thus when an alien started back to the home country he was confronted at the Customs House

with a claim for his taxes in full. If he could not show a statement from his employer or some other proof of taxation, he was taxed all over again. In thousands of cases aliens returned to Europe feeling that they had been unjustly treated, as, indeed, in many cases they had been. Partly because of this America was in direct danger of losing her prestige among the peasant class of Central Europe, a condition which in the long run might prove far from desirable. It is well to remember also that in many cases employers interpreted the Revenue Law to suit their own ideas or convenience: this did not tend to clear the situation. It must be noted emphatically, however, that this law was literally impossible of exact interpretation by employers or anyone else. The outline of the law as given here has not even scratched the surface of the matter; to give it in full would require a small volume; to elucidate it would be impossible.

One or two letters which are typical may help the reader to grasp the grotesque irony of the thing. The following is from a sworn statement: "On or about December 30, 1918, Deputy Collector Doe called me into the Blank Company's office and asked me, 'Do you want to stay in this country or do you want to go back to the old country?' I said 'I don't know.' Then he said 'You have to say for sure.' I said 'I want to go back.' I did not know who this man was who was asking me these questions. I had recently received a letter from my brother who had been in the Russian army, in which he stated that our old home town in Russia had been practically wiped out, and that he had been inquiring around, but so far had not been successful in locating my mother and two sisters.

My wife and I had decided that possibly when conditions permitted, it would only be proper for me to go back for two or three months to help in the search for my mother and sisters, and that is why I answered as I did. It has always been my intention to make my real home in America." That is an entirely characteristic statement. Here is an extract from a letter: "That is, they have withheld as income tax $81.17 altogether, and then they threw me out of work because I refused to take out my first papers." This man had worked for the Blank Company at Pullman, Illinois. He came to America from Russian Poland in 1912, with his wife and four children, who are at present here with him. He has no definite intention of leaving the country. Here is another: "I have first American papers, which I took out in 1916. I signed also the green slip (Form 1078 revised) at the Blank Asphalt Paving Company, Maurer, New Jersey. They have thrown me out of work and I do not work anywhere now. I am thirty-seven years old; my wife is thirty-two. I came from Galicia, County of Rohatyn, village of Czercze. My wife is from Galicia, village of Benkowce, County of Rohatyn. I would like to return to the country from which I came. Kindly write and explain things to me."

It must be borne in mind in dealing with this and with all similar problems affecting the immigrant, that he is very often so ignorant that he cannot speak any English at all, and often can neither read nor write his own language, not to mention ours. There is a background behind these people that it is most difficult for the average American born to understand, a background of mediæval oppression in which the

mere signing of a paper may mean death. It is this with which we have to contend, and we can only gain our point by a slow, gradual growth. They must not, cannot be forced.

In nine cases out of ten the alien makes no effort to avoid the tax when he clearly understands that it is a Government measure; but he has been rendered so suspicious by uninformed employers and collectors that he has reached the point where he is, to utilize a truly American expression, "from Missouri." Why not? Thousands of Russians in Bridgeport and in Chicago have been thrown out of work through the absolute insistence of the employer that Form 1078 be signed. These people cannot go home. They use their small savings to live on for a while and then they have nothing. And next—Bolshevism. Instead of stamping out this menace we are warming it in our bosoms. The laborer does not want it, but we are actually forcing him into it. One of these men writes, and again it is typical: "I have lived in America for nine years. During that time I have studied the work of a mechanic, and now I am earning enough for my own life, but many thousands of Russians in this country while they worked had hardly enough to live on, and now that the War is ended they are discharged from factories and are told 'You are a Bolshevik.' And many of them do not know what Bolshevism or Capitalism means, and are just as simple as saints and angels. They called them Bolsheviki just to be able to throw them out of the factories, and so they make real Bolsheviki out of them." The letter is amusing enough, perhaps, but it has its point nevertheless. There are thousands like it.

THE IMMIGRANT AND THE INCOME TAX

The Internal Revenue Act of 1918 was a bad law, first, because it was unfair in itself, and because it was totally incapable of exact interpretation even by those who brought it into being; and second, because it was worse than unfair in its administration.

November, 1919.

The reader should consult in this connection those sections of the report of the F. L. I. S. in the Appendix, entitled "Government Contacts" and "Individual Service," as well as the letters appended to this last section. These will give concrete instances of the troubles arising from the alien income tax. It should be noted that this report was compiled eighteen months after this paper was written.

V

IMMIGRANT EFFORTS TOWARD AMERICANIZATION

THE very word "Americanization" is a dangerous choice. It reminds the immigrant too strongly of Russianization and Germanization. Probably "assimilation" would have been a better and truer term; but as it is, so let us deal with it. My purpose is to state briefly the reaction of the various immigrant groups toward Americanization or assimilation, and to give a few facts concerning the individual.

With the Lithuanians several points stand out clearly. The chief difficulty is the language. Many Lithuanians flock to night school in the fall only to leave in the middle of the season, because they cannot understand the American teacher. If they succeed in getting a Lithuanian teacher they will not only stay all winter, but will often gladly pay for their tuition. In Chicago, Boston, and some other cities there are several organized Lithuanian schools for the teaching of English, civics, and other topics which will be of service in the new life.

The Lithuanian is markedly imitative, and is as a rule anxious to become an American as soon as he can. There are a number of Lithuanian societies and organizations, the deeper purpose of which is Americanization. In these the immigrant meets his friends who have been here for some years and learns from them.

There are thousands of these fraternal and dramatic societies and citizenship clubs among the foreign-born groups. They are the real centers of Americanization. The Lithuanian priests take a strong interest in naturalization in their own parishes. One of these, the Rev. Mr. Kudirka, of Hazelton, Pennsylvania, took some two score of his parishioners in a body to the Wilkes-Barre court to aid them in taking out their first papers.

With the Ukrainians there are three definite points to be noted. The Ukrainian girls become Americanized very quickly. In the course of a few years they learn the language thoroughly and adapt themselves to the American life and point of view. The men, however, almost never can be assimilated in the first generation. The Ukrainian women are scattered through the cities as dressmakers, waitresses, and chambermaids, while the men, on the other hand, usually work in a circle of other foreign born. The next point is that during the war in nearly all communities containing Ukrainian immigrants their societies participated heartily in the Liberty Loan campaigns, Fourth of July celebrations, patriotic pageants, and festivals, and were always happy in the thought that they were contributing to the cause. Finally, love for America and allegiance to this country increased very greatly after President Wilson's declaration of American principles, particularly that of self-determination.

The groups constituting the Scandinavian countries have done excellent work, as have also the Dutch and Finns. During the War patriotic leagues were formed to further the work of assimilation. Many of these organizations were disbanded after the armistice, but some still continue. All of these groups assimilate

quickly, the Finns a little less so than the others, simply because English is a peculiarly difficult language for them.

The German situation is naturally of distinct interest. The main tendency engendered by the war is to get away from the old idea of segregation. The momentary stimulus given by the War to the old racial sympathies and aspirations has very largely passed. Some time ago a movement was started to raise $25,000,000, or even $65,000,000 for the sufferers in Germany among Americans of German ancestry. Although great efforts were made, little was collected, probably not more than $100,000 in all. The fund will never reach anything like the total proposed.

On the other hand, it is likely that the "bitter enders" among our German-speaking population are turning toward Bolshevism. The German Language Federation of the Socialist party joined almost as a whole the newly formed Communist Labor party, the platform of which is pronouncedly Bolshevistic. In this step it is probable that racial factors played a more important part than political convictions.

The Czecho-Slovak reaction is entirely optimistic and has never really been otherwise. The largest single branch of the American Red Cross was one formed entirely of Czecho-Slovak women in Cleveland. In eleven different states Czech and Slovak Building and Loan Associations became War Savings societies. Every Czecho-Slovak national organization without exception contributed to every one of the Liberty Loans. This action was taken entirely without suggestion or solicitation from outside. In the smaller communities the groups united in all manner of pa-

triotic festivals, besides contributing largely to the loans and drives. It is interesting to note that all of the Czecho-Slovak women's organizations have as a set part of their programs at every meeting the singing of "The Star-Spangled Banner," and again there is great interest in plays of American origin which have been translated into Czech and Slovak and produced by amateurs. Most of these plays have been selected as being representative of some typical phase of American life.

The Jugo-Slavs are somewhat handicapped in any organized effort through lack of funds. The first generation in this country may be divided into two classes so far as their efforts toward Americanization are concerned. One of these classes comprises individuals with some schooling and knowledge of certain trades. These men are easily assimilated and make a distinct effort to learn the language and imbibe the true spirit of America. The older people, however, are naturally much less adaptable. The second class includes men with little or no education, doing a common laborer's work in small mining communities and big steel centers, where they are to be found in large numbers. These men keep rather apart from American life, because, not knowing how to read and write their own language, it is naturally the more difficult for them to learn to read and write ours. These men, too, have meager opportunities to learn, because in most instances they have received little encouragement. Nevertheless, the second generation is assimilated quickly, and the Jugo-Slav parochial schools have given valuable service in this, for they do all their teaching in English. The mother tongue is merely taught as one of the subjects.

As for the Italians, their point of view is still different. The naturalization of these people is proceeding normally. The Italian, as a rule, desires to be persuaded and reasoned into assuming citizenship. He strongly resents any coercive methods, such as have arisen through the misapplication of the Internal Revenue Form 1078 which is used in connection with the alien income tax. When the Italian does become a citizen he is usually a good one, with a strong love for the land of his adoption, especially if his family is established here. Their efforts toward Americanization are largely of an individual nature, but there are several societies which are doing excellent work along this line. These are: the Italian-American Alliance, the Italian-American Democratic Union, and the Italian-American Civic Union. Surely there is nothing to be feared from this quarter.

There are several Hungarian organizations which do important and successful Americanization work. Some of these offer naturalization classes for adults and help large numbers of Hungarians yearly to gain citizenship. It may be said that all Hungarians who decide to settle down in the United States try to get citizenship, and that 90 per cent of the Hungarian settlers, not transients, are American citizens. A magazine of Americanization and education is published in Cleveland in the Hungarian language, and is endorsed by the Cleveland Americanization Committee. This group is not behind the others in bending its efforts along the right line.

Thus it will be seen that there is a general tendency on the part of all the groups to forward Americanization as sanely, as practically, and as enthusiastically

as may be.[1] But the American does not at present make it easy for the immigrant. Through the press he blackguards him, and calls him Bolshevist, Wop, Dago, and worse things, apparently simply through his own high sense of superiority. The immigrant does not enthuse over this point of view: one would hardly expect him to. And then there is a tendency to hound the alien into citizenship, to deport him if he does not immediately succumb, or to jail him if he protests at high-handed methods. All these things are un-American in themselves and are totally destructive not only of the desire of the alien to become a citizen, but even of his faith and belief in his adopted country. America is treating the alien like the proverbial "red-headed step-child." It is time to reunite the family.

November, 1919.

[1] The statement of the Bureau of Census for 1920 reports that 47.8% are naturalized, and 16.1% have taken out their first papers: This for the men. As for the women, 52% are naturalized. The grand total of those naturalized is 49.9%, and those having taken out their first papers is 17.5%, thus giving a final total of 67.4% who have either taken out their first papers or become naturalized.

VI

THE IMMIGRANT AND INDUSTRY

I

THE position of the immigrant workman, as differentiated from that of the native born in our industrial life, is somewhat peculiar. He stands in the middle with both ends playing against him. He represents the mass of unskilled labor in this country, and he represents likewise the greater portion of unorganized labor. He has not been encouraged to organize either by his employers or by Labor itself. Why? Because the employer who encourages organization among his men is rare at best, and because Labor has always looked upon him as an intruder whose position must not be permitted to solidify. And all the time the immigrant population has been growing.

This condition has provided an additional twist in the industrial complex. The immigrant laborer has come to stand for the "X," the unknown quantity in the long-sought equation between Capital and Labor. The employer accuses him of fomenting strikes and industrial agitation. Labor uses him as a scapegoat when anything of an untoward nature occurs. On the other hand, the immigrant, as the figures show plainly, is slower to strike than his native brother. He is also, however, slower to abandon a strike when once he has embarked upon it. His own complaint is that too often he is bullied and inveigled into striking by native Americans, who, when once the pinch comes, walk

out, return to work, and leave him holding the bag. There is a germ of truth in all this, and, as usual, there is much to be said on all sides.

If we are to regard the situation between organized Capital and organized Labor as one of war, then we must confess that Capital has had by far the best generals. The immigrant has provided the split in the Labor ranks. Capital has treated him as an outsider and has encouraged Labor to do the same. Labor has been foolish enough to fall into the trap, so that, instead of swelling its ranks with the foreign born it has permitted a barrier to spring up between them.

The sum total of all this has been the practical isolation of the alien. Socially he has always been isolated. He has been forced to congregate in small and congested colonies of his own, largely by reason of the concentrated provincialism of the average American community. But at least his social isolation has been the result of misunderstanding; it has not been, as has his industrial isolation, the result of a deliberately thought out plan. Isolation of whatever kind has been bad for the immigrant. It has embittered him; it has prevented his taking an active part in American life; it has inhibited any powers he might have of functioning as an integral portion of the national entity. But the immigrant has not been the only loser.

There may have been, indeed there was, a seemingly immediate advantage to the employer in adopting these tactics toward the immigrant. But if there ever was an advantage, it was no more than immediate. The first fine spurt is over and the long run is beginning to tell. We are beginning to realize that it is primarily essential for the welfare of industry in America that

we have national unity. Without that there can be no progress, and if we cannot go forward we must go back.

II

In his excellent study entitled "America via the Neighborhood," John Daniels makes the following points: Union membership is based upon occupation rather than locality. Nevertheless some unions are composed almost entirely of one race. These unions hold their meetings in their mother tongue. Most unions of this type are neighborhood affairs, because the larger portion of their members live in one immigrant colony. They are integral units of a supposedly inclusive American organization. Through these racial unions, the conception and ideals of the national organization are infused into the colony neighborhood. When there are a number of racial unions in the same immigrant colony, there is an increasing tendency for these to federate among themselves while still maintaining separate relations with their respective craft organizations. For instance, Bohemian carpenters, plumbers, and steel workers draw membership from one large Bohemian colony and have their own central council, in which all are represented, to act upon matters of common concern, such as promoting union organization, collecting and distributing relief in time of strikes, acting as mediator, and such like affairs. Each separate union is an integral part of the general union, thus linking the neighborhood with the larger community, and ultimately, in theory at least, with the nation.

Mr. Daniels' points are interesting and suggestive, and I further believe that upon analysis they will be

found to bear out the more general statement I have given just before them. A change in the situation during the last twenty years is indicated by the fact that in 1900 the total membership of labor unions was estimated at 1,000,000, whereas to-day this figure has risen to 5,000,000. This great increase is said to be largely due to the unionization of our immigrant population, and this may be true enough. The point I wish to stress is the essential difference between the man of foreign birth and the man of foreign descent. It is the first with whom we are dealing here, but I believe that it is to the second that this increase is due. The problem of Americanization, taken in any of its phases, must concern itself primarily with the first-generation immigrant, not with him of the second or third generation, for with these the whole approach to the question is essentially different.

It may be interesting to point out what is probably the one instance of an alien strike which met with triumphant success. The Russian Jews struck in 1906 against sweatshop conditions. Through this strike they effected a permanent organization which almost controls the clothing trade, they doubled their wages, and reduced hours to the regulation forty-four.

Lescohier, in his "Labor Market," makes the following tabulation of all foreign-born males who come to this country. He says that they constitute

1/14 of all the agricultural labor
3/4 of all the tailors
1/2 of all the cabinet makers
1/2 of all the miners
2/5 of all the boot, shoe, and textile workers
1/3 of all the iron and steel workers
1/4 of all the carpenters and painters
1/5 of all the sawmill workers

Popular interest is probably largely concentrated at present in the one-fourteenth who have gone to the land for their livelihood. Germans constitute 33.13 per cent of these, the next highest being the Swedes, with 10.07 per cent, and the lowest being the Hungarians, with .57 per cent. It is claimed that immigrants from Northwestern Europe are the model farmers for America, but that those from Southern and Eastern Europe are undesirable in agriculture, because of their lack of foresight and business sense. In general terms this may well be true; but that it is subject to many and notable exceptions will be readily realized by anyone who is at all conversant with farming conditions in the last two sections of Europe mentioned.

It was the Lithuanian immigrants who formed McNaughton's Farmers' Union for the better protection of farmers, and in fact nearly all of the progressive movements among American agriculturists have found their inception in our immigrant population. The great coöperative movement now spreading through the West and Northwest is an importation from Northern Europe, and the student of political as well as of industrial economics will find the work already done along this line well worthy of his most serious attention. On the other hand, when a certain agricultural society sent out 30,000 Jews from New York with the purpose of settling them on farms, it was found that ultimately 90 per cent of them had gravitated into industrial occupations, while the remaining 10 per cent still to be found[1] on the land, only kept alive by taking in boarders. It is thus apparent that an indiscriminate and enforced migration back to the soil will be abortive in the very nature of things.

[1] See note on p. 242.

III

A short and necessarily incomplete summary of the distribution of the immigrant population along industrial lines will suggest the scope and complexity of the situation. It will also serve to indicate to how great an extent we depend on the immigrant for our industrial output.[1]

The Lithuanian immigrants, like the Poles, belong largely to the agricultural classes at home, but few of them have become farmers in this, their adopted country. Shorter hours, higher pay, what they think may be easier lives, cause them to gravitate toward factory and mill, even though they came here with the intention of going to rural sections. The largest colonies of Lithuanians are found in New York City, in the large New England cities such as Boston, and in the mines and steel mills of Pennsylvania. The mines of West Virginia, Illinois, Iowa, and Washington claim large numbers of them also. In fact, mining seems to have attracted the majority of the race living in this country. They figure extensively, too, in the textile industries of Massachusetts, New Jersey, Illinois, and Wisconsin, while in New York City and in Baltimore there are many Lithuanian tailors. The car shops in

[1] "Immigrants come at the best and most useful, most productive age. The immigration laws keep out aged, infirm, and those likely to become a public charge. In intrinsic or physical worth to the United States, they are a rich addition. An Italian economist figured each able-bodied man at the age of twenty-one has cost the state from $1,500 to $1,800 to raise to maturity. At that rate in one year, say 1907, the United States was enriched by $2,040,000,000, at the cost of the countries which had brought up these immigrants, and without a cent of expense to the United States. The great majority of men of foreign birth had some military training before they came to this country."—From *Bridging the Atlantic*, by Professor Sarka B. Hrbkova.

the Western and Middle Western States have many Lithuanian carpenters, painters, and the like.

The majority of the Ukrainian immigrants are east of the Mississippi. There are 300,000 of them in all, distributed throughout the country. In Pennsylvania, they are miners and iron and steel workers; in New York, they are in metals and machinery; in Detroit, they are busy making automobiles; in New England, they are in demand in the car shops; while New York and New Jersey want them for shipbuilding. Again, in New York and in Philadelphia many are tailors and textile workers. They are in request in the large hotels of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, and in the Middle West they go back again to the soil and are found on farms. A clever and adaptable race, these Ukrainian immigrants are able to turn their hands to many diverse occupations and to make good in all, although at home they are mostly of peasant stock.

The Scandinavians take more to farming than do the members of any of the other groups, and those who do not do so are usually skilled laborers whose presence is highly desirable. The Norwegians and the Swedes, for instance, who are often talented in woodworking, readily find employment in furniture factories.

Finns settle in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, as the climate of that neighborhood rather suggests Finland. Many of them, especially the small farmers, take up lumbering in the winter. Others drift west, where they are found in the copper mines of Montana. Some do well as skilled workers in such trades as paperhanging, carpentering, and plumbing.

Slovaks are efficient in the mining and steel industries, and are also workers with lumber. They often appear working with the Czechs.

It is estimated that fully 50 per cent of the miners in the United States are Hungarians. It was estimated in 1919 that 90 per cent of them would return to Hungary, and that consequently there would be a great shortage, especially in the coal fields. This prediction, however, was only realized in small part. A group of Hungarian miners in Himler, West Virginia, several years ago were able to buy a mine and are now operating it as an independent property and on a mutual profit-sharing basis. They bought an additional mine for $1,000,000 not long ago, the shareholders of which are all Hungarian miners. There are a number of skilled workmen among the Hungarians in this country who earn in good times $50 to $100 weekly. These are most of them artists at their trades and could hardly be replaced, or at least not for some time, should they return to Hungary. Ford, in Detroit, employs several thousand skilled Hungarian mechanics. These are for the most part of very high-grade intelligence, and are nearly all of them American citizens.

The German immigrant is no longer to be found in large colonies in the United States, except in those of long standing. The work in which they predominated, the brewing industry, is fast disintegrating, and in this connection it is interesting tc note that the German brewers were very eager to have every newcomer become a citizen as soon as possible. This was, of course, for political reasons, to increase their effective political force to fight prohibition. There was a time when grocers, bakers, and butchers were largely Ger-

man, but the centralization of industry and the rise of the chain stores has done away with that to a great degree. The German immigrants belonging to the older immigration have become fairly well mixed with the general population so far as industry is concerned.

The Italians form a large part of the American industrial mass. In the East the majority of the Italians work in the garment industry, although many are employed in other lines. Many of them work in the shipyards and in the mines, especially in Pennsylvania, where there are a number also in steel-working and various metal industries. On the west coast there are a large number to be found in shipyards. This applies to the skilled laborer rather than to the pick-and-shovel man, who is scattered throughout the country in railroad and municipal work.

The Russians appear in large numbers in the packing industries of Chicago, but they are found in all the large industrial centers. Thousands of them are employed in Bridgeport, Connecticut, and in Waterbury,, in the same state. Although they are good workers, they have not been considered so desirable lately among employers, because a limited number of Russians are associated with radical movements. Hence there is a marked tendency to question them as to their American citizenship, and to catechize them on their political and social views. There are many instances where Russians have been discharged from service on any small pretense. There are many establishments to-day which refuse to employ an alien who has not declared his intention of becoming a citizen. Industries are not working with their full force, and this has left many Russians out of employment,

while most of them only work part of the time. This is due to no disinclination on their part to work, but to the fact that they are unable to get employment. This fact, more than any other, causes the present dissatisfaction among the laboring class and its trend toward radicalism. Thousands of Russians throughout the country are out of work through no fault of their own.

IV

Especially in view of the persistent rumors to the effect that immigrant labor has been earning huge sums of money during the last few years, it may be of value to quote a few figures on the matter.

During one of the income tax crises about a year ago a survey was made in Chicago of a number of cases. One hundred typical examples were selected showing their incomes for 1918, the tax assessments, and the refunds claimed. As this year marked the peak of war prices, it should show wages at their highest. There has been no attempt to select these cases with a view to making a point.

1918 Incomes			Tax Assessments			Refunds Claimed		
Under	$500,	1	Under	$25,	10	Under	$25,	10
From	To		From	To		From	To	
$500	1,000,	10	$25	50,	11	$25	50,	21
1,000	1,100,	3	50	75,	6	50	75,,	6
1,100	1,200,	11	75	100,	4	75	100,	5
1,200	1,300,	16	100	125,	4	100	125,	42
1,300	1,400,	16	125	150,	20	125	150,	6
1,400	1,500,	16	150	175,	27	150	175,	7
1,500	1,600,	12	175	200,	14	175	200,	2
1,600	1,700,	5	Above	200,	4	Over	200,	1
1,700	1,800,	6						
1,800	1,900,	4						
		100			100			100
Total Income, $134,366.03 100 cases			Total Assessm't $12,362.94 100 cases			Total Refunds, $10,110.78 100 cases		

Further than this, we may instance figures compiled by the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives. These show that the wages of coal miners prior to August 16, 1920, were $4.76 per day, $28.56 per week, and $1,485.12 per year. After August 16, 1920, these wages were raised to $7.12 per day, $42.72 per week, and $2,221.44 per year. More than this, the Interchurch report on the steel strike of 1919 gives $46.78 as the average earning per week of all employees. The following correlative data, however, is most significant: In the anthracite districts the company miners make $29.98 per week, while the contract miners make $43.45. In the bituminous territory hand mining brings $37.08 per week, while mechanical mining brings $45.55. The United States Council of National Defense in its pamphlet on the "High Cost of Living," gives two coal miners' budgets, which are especially interesting when taken in conjunction with the sums just given. The Ogburn budget gives $2,118.94, with an increase of 3 per cent to May, 1920, making $2,182.51. The Lawrence budget of November, 1919, gives $1,658.94, with an 8 per cent increase to May, 1920, making $1,799.68. These budgets do not include savings. In spite of these figures, which have been readily accessible to everyone, it has been stated in print as late as August, 1920, that coal miners were averaging $4,999 a year. The absurdity of this is manifest.[1]

[1] "In a government investigation made by Jenks and Lauck, (p. 280), of 17,628 families, the heads of which were employed in the principal divisions of mining and manufacturing enterprises, it was shown that of 1,187 families, native born, of native father, white, 259 (21.8%) owned homes; of 788 families, native-born, of foreign father, 202 (26.6%) owned homes; of 15,511 families, foreign born, of native father, 3,306 (21.6%) owned

V

The employer who adopts arbitrarily a plan of Americanization and then drops it down like a wet blanket on his foreign-born employees can hardly hope for success. He doesn't deserve it. It's like the old story of the widow who told her son that she was going to marry Dr. Jones. "Bully for you, Ma!" responded her offspring. "Does Dr. Jones know it?" And perhaps when the doctor found out what was going to happen, the widow's plans were altered.

At the very outset it might as well be fully understood that the individual employer has no specific or immediate benefit to gain through Americanization. The simple and oft-quoted matter of decrease of accidents and decrease in loss of material spoiled, and tools and machinery lost and broken has little to do with the problem. The immigrant laborer can be cautioned against accidents in his native language quite as well as in English, and he can equally be instructed in his work and in the care of his tools. Americanization has nothing to offer here. More than this, if the employer hopes to influence his immigrant workmen either politically, socially, or economically, he is fostering un-Americanism of the most dangerous kind. This is propaganda, but it is not Americanization. Likewise, this is exactly what Americanization has come to

homes (p. 281). The Bohemians and Moravians show the largest proportion of home owning families of all races the heads of which were native born of foreign father, or foreign born.

"Another proof of the thrift of foreigners is shown by the Post Office Department. Of $13,000,000 deposited in the postal savings banks of New York City, more than $11,000,000 is owned by foreign-born residents."—From *Bridging the Atlantic*, by Professor Sarka B. Hrbkova.

mean to the immigrant. He regards it as part of the open-shop war, as a portion of the anti-radical propaganda of the Palmer campaign. As long as Americanization is tied up with these things in the alien's mind it will be an abortive process. And there is no use in trying to camouflage it. The immigrant knows. He is not a fool simply because he cannot speak English. The chief reason for Americanization, either in industry or out of it, is the possible benefit accruing to the nation itself in that potential citizens are being developed for it. And by "citizens" I do not simply mean persons who are able to vote because of their legal right to do so, but men and women who know what they are voting for and why; who are able to vote intelligently according to their own lights, and not mechanically according to the reflected light of someone else. An intelligent citizenry, who is able to think for itself and who has both the will and the courage to put its thoughts into action, is the best and soundest foundation upon which any employer can build. Any man who is afraid to have the truth known about his business is certainly not fit to train the future citizens of a democracy.

One might as well be candid and confess that in the past far too many employers did not encourage education of any kind among their immigrant employees, simply because they were afraid that, if they did, the employees would come to know too much for the entire advantage of the employer. Nothing could have been more futile and short-sighted. The second step came when these employers realized the error they had made and started in to do the educating themselves and along their own lines. This was, and

is, not education but sheer propaganda. One thing is certain, and that is that propaganda is poor business, no matter who does it. Sooner or later the ones who have been victimized wake up, and the propagandizer pays the bill. As Lincoln said, "You can fool some of the people all the time and all the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time." There is no better motto than that for pseudo-Americanizers, whether they are in industrial plants or outside.

Let us say, for instance, that a man has a plant employing a considerable percentage of foreign-born labor. For some reason best known to himself, we will assume it to be a sane if not a specifically generous one, he decides to Americanize them. First he must make a survey. He must know just what foreign-born groups he has, where they come from, how long they have been here, what they are doing, and what they are best fitted to do. Then he must ask each group to appoint a spokesman or a committee to meet with him or with his representative to discuss the matter. Each group must be talked with separately, for each may have different ideas on the subject, and it is wise to avoid conflict. In the discussion that follows, the primary thing to be ascertained is exactly what each group believes that it needs. Once this is determined, the time has come to see how it may best be given them. Very likely it will be found that the majority of the foreign-born workers are members of some fraternal, social, or benefit organization which has a local chapter within easy reach. If possible, these local branches of the foreign-language organizations should be called into consultation. It may be that

they will not have anything very specific to contribute, but if once they are assured that the employer is honestly trying to do his best without ulterior motive, their coöperation is worth having. At this juncture, also, the question of teachers will doubtless arise. And here we can make a flat statement: It is better to have teachers who are natives of the groups that are to be taught. American teachers who do not understand the language, customs, and traditions of their pupils are quite as likely to do harm as good. Their psychology is too essentially different. The employer may wonder how he is to check the work that is being done and how he is to assure himself that the foreign-born teachers are not indulging in radical propaganda of one kind or another. There are two ways, other than by understanding the language, by which he can attain this assurance. In the first place, he ought to be able to size up the teacher as accurately as he sizes up any other man or woman. In the second place, if he has gained the confidence of his foreign-born employees, if he has made friends of them and their associates, he can pretty well rest easy. It seems like a glittering generality, but nevertheless it is safe to say that the foreign born are loyal to those who are loyal to them. It is distinctly up to the employer to prove that he is loyal; otherwise he cannot complain if the loyalty of his employees goes elsewhere. The rest is all detail, and is all dependent on the particular and individual problem with which the employer is confronted. After this point each situation must be judged on its merits, and each will probably present some peculiar angle of approach.

THE IMMIGRANT AND INDUSTRY

There are a few things to be borne constantly in mind, if this Americanization experiment is to be a success. The foreign born have been intimidated by the intensive campaign carried on for the past three years which has endeavored to tie up anything foreign with everything radical. The immigrant population has been made suspicious of all so-called Americanization, because so much of it is for the benefit of the Americanizer and so little for the good of the Americanized. They are cautious, and rightfully so. What they need is service; information as to the laws and customs of the country, especially such laws and customs as affect them most. They must know our traditions and backgrounds, and they must learn that if their present situation does not square with those traditions we regret it as much as they, and stand ready to coöperate with them in rectifying these things. The foreign born must be helped to Americanize themselves, for we cannot hope to Americanize them. It is not reasonable that we should. Once given the opportunity, they will do far better for themselves than we could do for them. The employer who understands this and who appreciates it in its full significance has won half the battle. For years past we have directly and systematically discouraged the efforts of the immigrant to better himself, and so to better the community. Now we insist that if the job is to be done at all, we are the only ones to do it. In this we are wrong. The immigrant is ready and willing to help himself. It is up to us to see that he is given the chance. Americanization in industry will succeed only when the alien himself does the Americanizing. Give him the opportunity and he will.

VII

THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS

I

IT has been remarked that there are very definite reasons for feeling that the presence of the foreign-language press in America is something of a menace to that assimilation of the immigrant for which we are striving. This is, however, merely the proverbially dangerous half-truth, for, as a matter of fact, the foreign-language press has been, and is, one of the warmest, most ardent, and efficient workers in the field of patriotic stimulation. The time will come and must come when the one language written and spoken in this country will be English, but the process is gradual, and for many reasons it cannot be otherwise.

Many immigrants cannot read or write at all, even their own language, much less ours, and there is a far greater percentage who must at the outset be kept in touch with American life, official and general, who would be rendered utterly helpless by the restriction of their press to the sole use of the English language. We say that the immigrant should be taught English. True, but what is going to happen to him while he is learning? That process, due in large part to our own excessively faulty method of instruction, is more often than not slow, and to cut the pupil off from the news of the world at large and from that of his adopted country in particular while he is a student would be

nothing less than criminal folly. Moreover, there will develop in the course of the following paragraphs other reasons not less potent for regarding the present condition of affairs as susceptible to gradual change and development, rather than to abrupt and radical prohibition or restriction.

In the middle of 1914 the Ukrainian press in this country comprised five papers, all of them weeklies. At present ten Ukrainian papers are published in the United States, among them one daily and four triweeklies. For the last five years the volume of the Ukrainian press shows an increase of 470%, and the circulation one of 700%. Before the outbreak of the War the Ukrainian papers in this country merely reprinted the news from the home country periodicals, but now they devote nearly as much space to American topics and to world politics as to Ukrainian affairs. This unquestionably shows a tendency to progress in the right direction.

The Scandinavian press has a somewhat different tale to tell. From March, 1918, a careful watch was kept on this press, and at first one could detect a strained and rather unfriendly tone. In a very few instances articles unpatriotic in tone were noted, while a few were decidedly against the United States. There were also expressions of feeling regarding the ruling which forced some papers to file translations of articles concerning the war while others were exempt. This complaint was common, however. In two or three months, though, all of these issues were adjusted satisfactorily, and from that time on the Scandinavian press as a whole, with the Dutch and Finnish, can be called frankly loyal.

Little change has been noted since the armistice. Not quite as much space has been given to Americanization as was given during the war, but this is natural. It is due not to any lack of desire on the part of the press to forward this work, but because of a feeling on the part of the editors that Americanization has been rather overdone, as indeed it has. This is an inevitable point of view, and is in no way inimical. On the whole, there is no reason to regard this press other than optimistically.

The situation with regard to the German press is naturally somewhat different. Two years ago there were about 500 German-language newspapers and publications of all kinds in the United States. During the War the German press had a precarious existence, and at the present time the number of periodicals is 344. About ten newspapers formerly published in German are now printed in English, and a few which were printed solely in German are now printed partly in German and partly in English.

Of the 344 German-language periodicals now in existence twenty-nine are dailies, while the rest are weeklies, bi- or tri-weeklies, fortnightlies, or monthlies. Among the 344 there are many trade papers and religious publications.

It must be noted, however, that the disappearance of so many German-language papers does not necessarily imply that the circulation of this press has decreased in a corresponding degree. It is a well-known fact that after the disappearance of a German-language paper the agents of the survivors immediately try to capture the circulation of the suspended publication. Since the signing of the armistice reports have been

received from various parts of the country regarding the intended republication of German-language papers or the starting of new ones. It is safe to say, however, that this press is rather on the decline than otherwise, and that the "bitter enders" have been the first to go.

Of the 100 or more Czechoslovak publications which were in existence in 1915 a number in certain middle western States, the legislatures of which adopted radical measures opposed to the foreign-language press, lost so heavily in advertising that they were compelled to suspend publication. This was a frank misfortune to a great many, inasmuch as these papers were in many instances the only medium of authoritative information on governmental activities which affected the foreign-speaking groups.

The Czechoslovak press has kept its readers well informed on all the undertakings of our Government, and has devoted columns and full pages to the urging of general support of all the war-relief activities. In every instance all that was necessary to insure the active support of the Czechoslovaks for a governmental appeal was to inform them of it.

The loyalty of this group has been noteworthy in every community in the United States. Likewise, a significant fact is that the official organs of the larger and more influential national associations and federations devote from two to eight pages to matter in the English language, whereas five years ago not a single Czechoslovak paper published so much as a column of matter in English, the one exception being a student publication issued by the Komensky (Comenius) Education Society. Now all this is changed, and this

press is developing rapidly along those lines which will serve to bring its readers into closer and more intimate touch with national affairs.

The Jugoslav press consists of nine Serbian papers, eleven Croatian, and thirteen Slovene. Of these there are seven dailies, twenty-two weeklies, and four monthlies. Except for three Socialist papers, belonging to the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist left wing and right wing, and two religious papers, one weekly and one monthly, all the rest are strongly nationalistic in sentiment. These papers are published six in New York, fourteen in Chicago, three in Pittsburgh, three in Cleveland, three in San Francisco, two in Calumet, one in Joliet, and one in Milwaukee.

With the exception of the two Socialist papers, the publications worked with all possible energy for every activity for which the Government asked their coöperation. Large space was given for the advertisements of the Liberty and Victory Loans and for the War Savings Stamps. These papers have proved to be most patriotic, working at the same time for the United States and for the liberty and independence of their brethren abroad. At the present time they are devoting the same energy to forwarding governmental affairs and propaganda toward the necessary assimilation of the Jugo-Slavs in this country. They have acted at once as a safety valve, a court of appeal, and a wise check on the foreign-language group which comprises their readers.

Since the outbreak of the War the Hungarian press in this country has supported without reservation all American movements. It has taken part in all attempts at assimilation, supporting the Red Cross, the

Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Liberty and Victory Loans, the War Saving Stamp drives, and giving pages in behalf of every effort of this kind. Since the armistice this press has somewhat divided its energies. With the exception of the Socialist papers, all the publications carry a strong anti-Bolshevik propaganda. In their view of their home country they are vacillating between the advocacy of a republican and a monarchical institution. They are supporting Americanization movements strongly, and are discouraging Hungarians from leaving the United States. Like our own papers, they are partly in favor of the League of Nations and partly against it. On the whole, the tendency is thoroughly healthy and encouraging.

In the Italian papers, and there are nearly 150 of them, including daily, weekly, and monthly organs, not one instance of disloyalty has been found. They have fought constantly to keep alive the flame of patriotism in those people who could not speak the language of the country of their adoption, and to translate and interpret the various activities of a governmental nature, which are so vital not only to the welfare of the alien, but to that of the country as a whole. The Italian press has not only presented a solid wall of loyalty, but it has been active in support of everything that has tended to weld the Italian in this country into the very fabric of the national life.

A singular feature of the Lithuanian press is that it appeared in this country before it came to birth in its homeland, which formerly suffered from Russian oppression. The Lithuanian in the United States regards

his native-language newspaper not only as a medium of news and information, but also as the expression of a patriotic victory for which he and his forebears fought for long ages. There are not many Lithuanian periodicals in America, but all are flourishing. While these papers have been, and are, intensely loyal to the United States, they have been primarily devoted to Lithuanian affairs. The Lithuanian remains with his own people to a greater extent than is advisable, but again this is largely because of the persecution he has undergone in the past.

In several instances the publishing houses which bring out some of the stronger Lithuanian periodicals also publish books in the native tongue, and these firms are now promoting assimilation by translating works which create a tendency toward Americanization and circulating them through the Lithuanian communities. Their work is well organized and steady.

It is to be regretted that we should speak of the suppression or even the limitation of the foreign-language press just at a time when we have so much exact information to be transferred and interpreted to the immigrant in this country. As a New York newspaper said editorially: "The Bar Association does well in condemning the foolish bill that would prohibit the publication of any newspaper in any other language than English. It is extremely silly, crude provincialism. The spreading of the use of English is to be encouraged. but it does not involve the shutting off of the French, Italian, Greek, or even German press. The foreign-language papers have a legitimate field, and most of them are usefully and even strenuously American in tone, though their vocabulary be Latin.

Let us stick to common sense even in Americanizing the immigrant."

This is wisely said, and the last sentence should be the key-note of all our efforts along this line. The foreign-language press in America has been, and still is, vitally necessary. For every move it has made on the wrong side it has made ten on the right, and it is an essential cog in the wheel of naturalization. It has its work to do, and when that work is finished it will die a perfectly natural death. Until then, let us be sane.

November, 1919.

VIII

THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS

II

STATISTICS are never conclusive, but they are sometimes very indicative of a general trend, and if only for this reason it may be well to preface this chapter with a few figures which will go to show in some wise the status of the foreign-language press in America as well as that of its readers. These figures are approximate; they have been closely estimated, but the situation changes so in its minor details that no statement remains absolutely exact for more than a few days at a time.

There is a total of approximately 1,285 foreign-language papers in the United States. The circulation of this press is estimated at about 8,479,216. The total foreign-born population of this country is about 16,615,121. Of this population, according to the census of 1910, there are 2,953,011 who cannot speak or read English, and who are thus absolutely dependent on the foreign-language press for their daily information. It is likewise estimated that there are 1,630,361 who are illiterates; that is, who cannot write; for inability to write constitutes illiteracy, regardless of whether one can read or not. It must also be borne in mind that the last two figures given are based on the census of 1910, while that figure showing the total immigrant population (16,615,121) includes the estimated increase from 1910 to date.

Thus the true number of those dependent on the foreign-language press and the total number of illiterates is actually considerably in advance of the figures given above. These figures are inclusive; that is, they cover the entire press of the thirty-five different foreign-language groups that go to make up America. Let us see what the situation is with the press of eighteen of these groups. In this we can advance from the general to the particular.

The press of these eighteen groups or nationalities[1] consists of 795 foreign-language papers. In period of publication these papers are divided as follows: Dailies, 107; tri-weeklies, 11; bi-weeklies, 27; weeklies, 511; tri-monthlies, 105; quarterlies, 1. In class of publication they are again divided as: Newspapers, 547; fraternal publications, 84; religious publications, 11; technical and trade journals, 49; and general magazines, 39. This shows the immensely diverse nature of the foreign-language press, the preponderance of weeklies, and the small proportion of daily publications. The greater portion are, according to this, weekly newspapers. So much for what we may call the mechanical status of this press. What the average person is most interested in, however, is the contents of the press and its policies, for he has been carefully tutored during the last two years in the belief that all foreign-language publications are radical, incendiary, and dangerous. It will not be difficult to show that this is not true.

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[1] Czech, Slovak, Russian, Italian, German, Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Danish, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, Hungarian, Jewish, Serb, Croat, and Slovene.

During the War the Division of Work with the Foreign Born of the Committee on Public Information was the official intermediary between our Federal Government and our foreign-language press and population. The records of this agency testify in the fullest degree to the splendid support accorded it by this press, the millions of words printed in support of the various Liberty Loans which the foreign born subscribed to so generously, the enormous space given to all governmental information, and the enthusiasm with which every patriotic effort was met. The native press of America was not one whit ahead of the foreign-language press during the War in its support of all war measures. If there were a few, a very few, dissenting voices in the foreign-language press, they were as nothing compared to that portion of the native American press which was frankly seditious. Facts and figures and active witnesses almost without end can be called upon in proof of this assertion.

After the War was over the foreign-language press did not change; its loyalty was as firm and as fixed as ever. The point of view of the American public on this press did change, however. The public had been rendered panicky by spy scares; it was ready to believe the worst of anything in a foreign language. Figures from a semi-governmental agency, which still releases governmental material to about 800 foreign-language newspapers, show that these papers have actually printed three-quarters of a million words a month[1] of

[1] These 750,000 words mean about 750 newspaper columns. It may illustrate this volume of material better when I say that H. G. Wells's "Outline of History," contains about 500,000 words, or 250,000 words less than two-thirds of the foreign-language press prints of governmental material each month.

governmental and semi-governmental material, and that this average is still being kept up and occasionally exceeded. During the eight months from February, 1920, to October, 1920, these 800 papers of the foreign-language press printed 5,059,960 words of material of the type outlined. In many instances these papers have given their whole front pages to government information. In many instances they have used from twelve to twenty government releases in one issue. Does this sound like a seditious press? Can it be said that this type of "copy" is too radical?

The great percentage of immigrants, for whom it is vitally necessary that they be kept in touch from the very outset with American life, official and general, would be rendered entirely helpless by restriction to the native press written in English. It is true enough that the immigrant should learn English, but he cannot do so in a week, especially under the unfavorable social and industrial conditions which usually mark the beginning of his career in this country. What is he to rely upon, then, while he is being educated? His own press, to be sure; there is nothing else. Even if this press were actually dangerous either in its political, industrial, or social advocacies, or even if it tended by its very being to foster in the immigrant a desire to stand apart from American life, still it would be necessary none the less for the foreign-speaking peoples of this country until we or they were able to supply something better. In reality, however, it is in no way undesirable. It is in very large part possessed of a constructive loyalty that is of immense benefit to our immigrant inhabitants and, through them, to our country itself. In those black periods when every

hand was against the immigrant; when his homes were raided in a vain search for Reds; when his community houses were broken up; and when he, with his wife and children, or, worse still, without them, was deported on the very flimsiest of pretexts, the foreign-language press stood firm and besought its readers to remember that these things were not American; that the public would become sane again; and to remember that, above all else, their loyalty to this country must remain unshaken lest they give reason to the mad cry raised against them.

During the War a federal law, the Trading with the Enemy Act, was enacted, which compelled all foreign-language papers either to have a permit from the Post Office Department allowing them to carry on as usual, or, in lieu of this permit, to file a copy of all matter which had to do with the War, with the government of this country, or of any country involved in the War, or with politics in general, at the local post office, where it was censored. These permits were carefully doled out to those papers the administration was perfectly sure of, and to those only. Despite the stringency of this law, however, attempts have been made to pass others still more rigorous and debilitating.

It is strange that so many of the self-styled "Americanizers" should rail at the foreign-language press on the theory that it helps to isolate the alien and preserve his racial interests and tendencies. This is actually far from being the truth. The foreign-language press serves more than one purpose: it keeps the immigrant of the first generation in some touch with his homeland, with its politics, its general interests, and

even, in some instances, with the gossip of his own small neighborhood. The desire of the newly arrived immigrant for this type of information is not only natural but even praiseworthy. He who shifts from the old love too easily will certainly be fickle in his newer affections. In the next generation this need has passed in large part, and in the third generation it exists no longer. Three generations is not too long in which to make an American citizen. But over and above this, the foreign-language press is a very definite factor in assimilation. It is not only the most valuable medium of interpretation between the native and the foreign born, but it is practically the only medium. Without it the immigrant would have no go-between to bridge the gap which inevitably separates him from his native-born neighbor and from the country of his choice.

During the War the situation was typical. There was no way in which the Government could reach the immigrant population effectively except through the foreign-language press. The causes, the aims, the measures, the draft laws, the Liberty Loans, and all the rest of it had to be made to permeate thoroughly the foreign-language groups. The press rose to the situation practically with one accord, and the work was done. The War is over, but the need for interpretation is not. Not a day passes but that the foreign-language press has to play its part in bringing a closer understanding between the Government and the immigrant population, between the native and the foreign born, and there is not a day when this press does not fulfill its mission.

A long and dramatic story could be told of the struggle of the immigrant with the complexities of the

alien income tax laws, a struggle in which the federal officers almost despaired of making their meaning plain, until at last, through the medium of the foreign-language press, the work was accomplished. Every problem that is national in scope inevitably affects the immigrant, and the solution and even the presentation of these problems would be next to impossible without this press of twelve hundred odd papers, that has fought for life through misinterpretation, misunderstanding, and injustice.

To say that the foreign-language press of America is disloyal or seditious is unqualifiedly false. In fact, proportionately, it is actually more loyal than the American press. The mass of ultra-radical and treasonable literature published to-day in America is printed in English, and for the most part by native-born Americans. These are general statements, but they can be proved, and indeed they have been proved many times in the last few years.

February, 1920.

IX

WHY THE IMMIGRANT LEAVES

THERE have been many wild stories current as to the number of immigrants who are leaving America for their home countries, and also as to the amount of money they are taking with them. Not one story in ten has any real basis in fact, but their very magnitude gives them emphasis.

That there is a certain exodus of immigrants, we cannot question. It is not so large as has been stated, however, and the reasons for it are of an entirely reassuring nature. It may be more clear if we take these peoples by groups or nationalities and try to show their present reactions from that standpoint.

The Lithuanians who are leaving go for two reasons: political and economic. Many of them were forced from their country because of political persecution by the Russian Government. This ban has now been removed and they naturally wish to return. Others left because of unjust distribution of land and economic pressure. Now that the status has been changed, they desire to take proper advantage of this new order. Others have not heard from friends and relatives in the old country throughout the time of the war. Their desire to return and investigate is obvious. The greater proportion of those leaving fully intend to come back after a few months.

With the Ukrainians the situation is entirely similar, except that in this group we find more who are actuated

by the desire to go back and help in the further liberation and reconstruction of their country. In both these groups, as in others, there is a class which came intending to stay only a few years, but which was detained by the War.

Seventy-five per cent of the Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes leaving the country are returning to their old homes merely for a visit after the War or to settle some business, and are then returning to America. Out of fifty-two cases investigated only five did not intend to return, and eight were a little doubtful, but probably would. The same is true of the Finns.

With the Czechoslovaks it is estimated that 90 per cent are returning because they have relatives in distress or because there are orphans of relatives who must look to them for support. Of the remaining 10 per cent, some intend to look after property interests, and a few are going back because they find themselves unsuited to conditions on this side. This proportion would hold true in any event. There is no unusual wave of emigration in this group.

The reasons affecting the Czechoslovaks are much the same as those which govern the Jugoslavs, but with the latter there are more returning, and in most cases they intend to stay on the other side. They have been hard hit by the income tax here; the stopping of the War has thrown many of them out of work, and they believe that the millennium has come at home. That they are in many cases forced to awake from this dream is evidenced by the following letter, sent to a Jugoslav paper here:

"I beg you to inform me how could I come back to America. I was in America for several years. A month

ago I came here (Gorena), but I don't like it. If I have to remain here I don't know how will I ever get used to it. If I don't succeed to get away, I don't know how it's going to be. I don't mind how much it will cost for a steamship ticket, only so that I could get back. Please send me the address of a steamship agent in Europe. I like it over there (America) much better than here.

"ANTON G."

This is by no means an isolated case and, quite apart from the humor of the letter, albeit quite unconscious, there is a lesson to be learned and an indication to be noted.

There are a number of Italians returning, and for various reasons. They are close-lipped about their personal affairs, and it is sometimes difficult to know just what purpose actuates them. However, one very strong reason is the exceptionally favorable conditions now offered by Italian exchange. Not long ago $100 was worth 975 lire. The Italians, knowing this, desire to return to Italy with increased wealth and buy property, but they forget that property has greatly increased in value in Italy. More lately, reports seem to indicate that the majority of the Italians returning intend simply to settle their affairs in Italy and then come back to America. This is, of course, typical of most of the groups.

Three Italians were questioned recently. One was returning for commercial reasons, one to regain his health, and one to get his family. The last two intended to return; the first did not, but just the same he has returned already, stating that he was used to America and could not get accustomed to the old Italian life.

The Italian press in America is working tirelessly and successfully to dissuade the Italian here from returning home. It is probable that the flood-tide is past. With the returning Italians there has been a strong feeling of resentment because of the unfairness of the application of the income tax law to immigrants. Many of these people were overtaxed on their way out of the country. This is primarily the fault of the law, not that of the persons administering it in most cases.

With the Hungarians there seems to be no especially racial reason for leaving. They desire to look up relatives and friends; they wish to take advantage of the new state of affairs in their own country, of which they really understand all too little. It is probable that there will be some thousands who will return to Europe with the purpose of reëstablishing themselves as soon as shipping conditions permit. Here, too, the income tax has caused much bitterness of feeling. Also, as in the case of most of the other groups, there are relatives to be searched for and friends to be located. It is almost impossible to do this without a personal trip. Just how many of those Hungarians who have gone, and who will go in the near future, intend to return it is impossible to estimate; probably not so many as in the other nationalities.

There are a number of reasons affecting the desire of Russians to return home. In the first place, they experience great difficulty here in meeting to discuss their problems. We are at present acting largely on the principle that all Russians are Bolshevists and that they must not be allowed to hold meetings or to congregate for discussion.

Recently at one of the big mills of the middle west 100 Russians met for the sole purpose of trying to solve the mysteries of the alien income tax. As a result of this perfectly innocent meeting, several of these men were sent to prison and others were discharged from their jobs. Why? As a matter of plain fact, the overwhelming majority of Russians here are strongly anti-Bolshevist, or were so until recently, and even those who do sympathize with the Bolshevist propaganda believe in it only for their own country and not at all for America. There is no danger, but we are making one.

Then, too, large numbers have been thrown out of work because of their refusal to sign Form 1078 of the Revenue Bureau, which is a declaration of residence in this country. They desire to return to look for the lost ones of their households and to retrieve what may be left of the little property they may have owned in Russia. Thus they are unwilling to pledge themselves not to leave America for any length of time. Most Russians came here for two reasons: political freedom (I do not at all mean license), and better economic conditions. At the present juncture it looks to them as though they were being denied both. Naturally, they wish to return to their country, where, they have heard, the iron hand has been lifted at last. It is for us to decide whether they go or stay, and in what state of mind.

The primary reason for the general exodus is the desire to resume broken relationships due to the War and to find friends and relatives who have not been heard from for years. Next, it is generally understood by the immigrant population that the political and

economic situation in the home countries is now what the peasant waited generations for and what he came to America to find. This, coupled with the fact that he thinks the present tendency in America is to deprive him of the rights for which he originally emigrated. Then there are minor reasons: Many held here by the war who would have returned before; some who feel the call of patriotism, and a few returning for reasons of health and other less significant causes.

If the way is left open for them, a far greater number than we realize will return.[1] If we can only bring ourselves to treat those immigrants who are still with us with understanding, we shall cut down the steamship lists quite 50 per cent. But if we do not do this, not only shall we lose the immigrant, but we shall send him home with a rankling bitterness that will make our name a byword with the European peasantry for many years to come, a condition that may affect international relations and domestic economics in no small degree.

November, 1919.

[1] The immigration ruling passed in May, 1921, (the 3% restriction act) has enormously complicated this situation, so far as the return of the alien to America is concerned. See Chapter XII for a more complete statement of this.

X

PSEUDO-AMERICANIZATION

I

IT IS my purpose here to endeavor to indicate a trend, to suggest a point of view, which has successfully coupled Americanization with the industrial war. It may be that in some instances we shall find that Americanization is merely a cloak, a camouflage, which serves to hide another and a far less disinterested motive. It may be also that we shall find some agencies or organizations, excellent in themselves, that are being used, through this medium, to pull someone else's chestnuts out of the fire. But before coming to the condition as it exists to-day, we shall have to outline very roughly and briefly conditions as they existed before, during, and immediately following the war, for only in this way shall we avoid the error of presenting the climax of the story before any of the events leading up to it.

It was about 1907, when the last great flood of immigration came into the country, that Americanization began to make itself evident. There were three elements other than the immigrants themselves that were more or less concerned with the problem, as indeed they are to-day, namely, the employers, labor, and outside agencies.

The employers were roughly divided into three classes: Those who had no concern whatever with the immigrant; those who were sincerely interested in

bettering his condition through general education and normal assimilation; and those who desired to keep the immigrant isolated, ignorant, and comparatively helpless, so that he would be unable to interest himself to any considerable extent in the industrial conflict. Unfortunately, this last class appears to have composed the majority, and even in the case of the second class one cannot but observe that in all probability the instruction the immigrant got was not ordinarily uncolored by prejudice.

Labor was not particularly interested in any sort of Americanization. In the first place, it did not want immigration at all, and in the second it adopted, on the whole, a foolish and short-sighted policy, making it difficult for the immigrant either to join the already existing unions or to unionize himself. In this way the union played straight into the employers' hands. In some unions the immigrant was admitted readily enough, but in many others he was kept out so far as it was possible. Thus, Steel refused for years to admit the masses of foreign-born unskilled workers.

So far as outside organizations were concerned, the problem was even less well defined. Some, such as the settlements, had been doing Americanization work long before the term itself came into being. Others, however, sprang into existence as a direct result of what had come to be known as the "immigrant problem." These last, speaking generally, were of two types: One was entirely non-partisan, and endeavored to meet the immigrant on his own ground, supplying the particular educational needs which his peculiar status in this country had developed. The other was ostensibly like in purpose, but its method of approach was

different. It tried to reach the immigrant through his employer. It endeavored to enlist the services of the chambers of commerce in its Americanizing campaign; it placed its circulars in the pay envelopes of employees; and especially, in times of strikes, it sent out speakers to spread the gospel of truth and light among the workers. I do not say that there was actually an ulterior motive in all this; doubtless it was only ignorance and natural bias, but it was dangerous and it was to grow.

The public at this time was unawakened and unrealizing. When it thought of the immigrant at all, it thought of him as an isolated individual and not in his relationship to the national entity. He was a "Wop," a "Hunkie," a "Polak," but never a potential citizen and, as yet, not even a menace. Really, the point of view the public took of him was not unlike the point of view of the slaveholder toward the slave, albeit it was quite unconscious. He was there to do the dirty work; that was all.

During the War all this underwent an emphatic change. The mind of the nation was focused at one point, and through the intervention of the Federal Government the bars were let down and the immigrant was admitted to the fold. He was needed for our army and for munitions work; his money was necessary for Liberty Loans, Red Cross drives, and for the Young Men's Christian Association. He must no longer be considered an outsider or be permitted to consider himself one. Instant unification was demanded, and for the most part was achieved. Employers, Labor, agencies, and the public were concentrated on one task, and the immigrant instead of being

a fifth element as before became simply a normal part of the other four. The Government went out and reached him effectively through the papers of the foreign-language press, about 1,200 in number; through the foreign-language societies, which, including their locals, ran up to 67,000, and through the leaders of the foreign-language groups. In all this employers played their part, sometimes foolishly, as when their Americanization merely consisted of patriotic airs played in the noon hour, but usually sincerely. And the immigrant did not have to be forced. His opportunity to show himself as an inherent and integral part of the nation had come, and he took advantage of it promptly.

The Czechoslovak group, for instance, contributed about 125,000 men to our armed forces; the Hungarians, about 7,000; the Italians, nearly 300,000; the Jews, about 225,000; the Jugoslavs, about 20,000; the Lithuanians, 35,000; the Poles, 107,000; the Russians, 20,000, and the Ukrainians, 8,000 more. Nor were they less generous in their financial contributions; for, if we cite figures of the Fourth Liberty Loan only, for a few of the groups already mentioned, we find that the Czechoslovaks contributed from 70 per cent of their total population; the Hungarians gave $2,500,000; the Italians, $150,000,000; the Jugoslavs, $3,000,000; the Lithuanians, about $12,000,000; the Russians, $40,000,000, and the Ukrainians, $1,000,000. As a result of this loyal and concentrated effort, of which the figures I have quoted give the barest idea, the immigrant was warmly applauded both by the Government, by his employers, and his compatriots. He was made to feel that he had proved himself at a time of national

crises, and that consequently he belonged in the fullest sense of the word to the nation with all its traditions and benefits, as was surely only fair, considering that he had fulfilled its most stringent obligations. The immigrant had been tried and had not been found wanting, in spite of spy scares and alien propaganda hysteria.

It was during this period, however, that the general public suddenly discovered that there was such a thing as Americanization, and because their enlightenment came at this particular time they regarded the reclaiming of the immigrant group as a certain by-product of the War. They seemed to feel that Americanization was something that had been born of the war peril instead of realizing that as a matter of fact the war had simply awakened them to a duty which had lain neglected for many years. As the result of this we had incidents such as the stoning by the local Loyalty Legion of a little colony of Czechs who were celebrating the departure of their sons, brothers, and husbands to the war by wearing their national costumes and singing their old folk songs. In another instance an ardent party of Americanizers was much put out because a foreign-born woman whom they approached told them that she simply did not have the time to be Americanized, because her sons were all at the front, her husband was in the munitions works, and her daughters were out selling Liberty Bonds, leaving her to do the housework. These are not isolated examples; they are, unfortunately, all too typical. The average citizen had found something he could do at home. If he could not fight the Germans abroad, he could at least Americanize the immigrants in the

United States, and he went at the last task in much the same spirit he would have applied to the first, had he been given the opportunity. Hence the psychology of Americanization began to solidify, to be fixed. It was something to be done to somebody by someone else, and done hard. And then came the armistice.

Naturally enough during the War the Americanization work in industry had received a tremendous impetus, just as it had everywhere else. Probably 98 per cent of the employers of foreign labor were doing Americanization work of one kind or another by the fall of 1918. The number of outside organizations engaged in forcing assimilation of some sort had likewise increased enormously, and it must be carefully noted that those agencies that sprang up as a result of the War took their tone from the war idea. They were less service organizations than self-constituted channels through which patriotism of their own special brand was to be poured like sacred oil upon the foreign-born. Here then was a highly fertile and cultivated field for any able sower who might take advantage of the opportunity. It was Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer who came, and who administered the *coup de grace* to the situation.

Mr. Palmer was selfish, near-sighted, frightened, and misled. He evidently thought that if he could throw the nation into a panic, making it believe that every immigrant was a potential Bolshevist and bomb-thrower, he could institute a program of anti-radical propaganda which would finally permit him to pose as the saviour of a free people, for which feat he would be awarded the Presidential nomination. It was so clever that it almost worked. In fact, though Mr. Palmer himself was wholly discredited, the effect his

pernicious activities had on the country has by no means worn away. At any rate, he went at his task busily. He suppressed a number of foriegn-language publications and harassed those he could not suppress; he raided foreign-language societies wholesale, and after he had raided, deported what was left. It was an intensive campaign, carried on without mercy or justice, as it was instituted without reason. The effect both on the native and on the foreign born was prodigious.

The immigrant groups were panic-stricken. Only a few months before they had been made to feel the warmth of gratitude with which the Republic greeted them during the War, and now, almost over night, the hand of fellowship had changed to the mailed fist of a despotism so like the one they had fought against in Europe that they longed to be back there again, now that the older tyranny had fallen. Their press was in peril; their educational organizations were broken up, and they were forced to seek refuge in whatever hiding places presented themselves; for if they congregated in public for no matter what purpose, they were arrested and hailed away to jail as dangerous radicals and incendiaries.

The native-born public, whose attention had been focused on Americanization during the War, now that the War was over, concentrated on the anti-radical campaign, and Americanization soon came to be a synonym for suppression. All European traits and attributes were to be wiped out, and it was equally dangerous to wear a red necktie or to speak with a foreign accent. The events of 1919 and 1920 are so recent that there is no need to tell them over again

here. It is enough to say that Americanization and anti-radicalism became interchangeable terms, and to remind the reader that radicalism in the public mind covered not only many sins, but an almost equal number of virtues.

Many employers and chambers of commerce were quick to see the opportunity chance, war, and Palmer had given them and to turn it to their own account. In some instances resolutions were passed which required that members of certain foreign-born groups must declare their instant intention of becoming citizens or suffer the results of unemployment. Employers pointed out that our industries were in danger of becoming Bolshevized, and that our only safety lay in an immediate return to the industrial conditions of before the War. Nor was Labor particularly helpful in this emergency, for it desired to stop immigration at any cost, and was not particularly careful about the reasons it gave for the step.

It was inevitable that this crisis should influence the many outside organizations and agencies which had adopted Americanization programs, and which depended largely on wealthy people for support. Some of them were open about the fact that they were working with the employers, while others endeavored to mask their real purpose. Still more were simply fooled, and were, and are, being used as cat's-paws in the industrial war.

We know pretty well what we may expect in the way of Americanization from the big employer. If he is engaged in Americanization, as he is, we may take it for granted that he expects to get something out of it himself. The spring is so obviously poisonous

that we do not need even to consider the possibility of the well's being pure. It is not far otherwise with the American Federation of Labor. In their dealings with the immigrants they have always been biased, and have always considered their own welfare at the expense of whatever and whoever they imagined stood in its way. This is not the place we are likely to look for an unprejudiced point of view, even though we may prefer one brand of bias to the other. But with outside agencies and organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the American Legion, the National Security League, the North American Civic League for Immigrants, the Inter-Racial Council, and others—how is it with them? Are they taking sides, and if so, what sides are they taking? An examination of some of the more readily accessible data ought at least to give us an indication of the truth, even if it does not serve wholly either to convict or to exculpate.

It must be borne clearly in mind that the following statements are by no means intended to constitute an attack on the organizations with which they deal. The facts will speak for themselves. And so, "with charity for all, and malice toward none," let us begin with the Young Men's Christian Association.

May, 1921.

XI

PSEUDO-AMERICANIZATION

II

THE national policy and program of the Young Men's Christian Association on Americanization is set forth in a book entitled "The Problem of Americanization," by Dr. Peter Roberts, one of the members of the Industrial Department of the Young Men's Christian Association, under which the Americanization work of that organization is instituted. In his introduction to this book Dr. Roberts states:

"The radicals have a well-organized speakers' bureau, a many-tongued press, and a fervency in attack which cannot be paralleled by any constructive and conserving agency interested in aliens. If Bolshevism and I. W. W.-ism are to be successfully combated, America needs a program of enlightenment, an army of volunteer workers, a wide-awake press, and a zeal for American democracy akin to apostolic fervor. The radicals have long had the right of way in communities made of foreign-speaking peoples. We should match this with a propaganda of enlightenment. . . ."

And now, through a very few samples, let us see of what this *propaganda of enlightenment*, which comes under the head of Americanization, consists:

"Their lives are spent in penury and stupidity."

This of the immigration from Southeastern Europe.

"When we consider, however, the character of the home and its furnishings, the care of the children, the

sleeping quarters, the comforts and conveniences the family ought to enjoy,—the foreign born are far removed from American standards. The chief hindrance to better things is the penury of the foreigner."

"The Americanization worker . . . will meet men who either do not know or do not care to observe sanitary rules in eating, and some who take pride in dirt and coarseness rather than in cleanliness and refinement. The earnest worker cannot afford to be fastidious; he must be inured to the objectionable environment or the distasteful habits for the sake of the man whom he serves. A passion for humanity dominates his life, and he is willing to endure all things if only he may bring men and women to American standards."

"It is not unusual to find many families of immigrants living in a house built for one family, . . . and a lecture given to the foreign group upon the danger of congestion in tenement houses will help them."

"Within recent years many foreign-born men have organized clubs. . . . If the free atmosphere of Americanism penetrates these clubs, largely made up of radicals, the dangerous forms of radicalism will disappear."

"How many of the rank and file of industrial workers of native-born parents in America are qualified to exercise intelligently the rights of citizenship? . . . They go to the polls because the men interested in getting out the vote call on them, and it is respectable to vote a certain way."

"They (i. e., the immigrants) break down, and will continue to break down unless they eat more, wash oftener, dissipate less, and sleep in more sanitary quarters."

"Men are hankering for, and will find, a way of life that strikes a *via media* between the cold, stern mor-

ality of Puritanism and the red and spicy laxity of Bolshevism."

"Many foreigners come to school in unique garments: women come with shawls or kerchiefs over their heads, and their garments are not of American make; men come in sheepskin coats, flannel shirts, boots, and caps; some come with hair disheveled, dirty linen, faces and hands unwashed. These are unpleasant things, and yet, for the great work of Americanization, the teacher will not be prejudiced against his pupils."

"The art of correct spelling in English is most difficult to the foreign born. This is due largely to the fact that they nearly all spell phonetically in their own tongue."

"The gulf separating a refined, cultured, and sensitive teacher from some of the most ignorant, illiterate, and unpolished immigrants is often believed to be impassible."

"Another erroneous idea is that the moneyed men in America are untrustworthy, and that the financial institutions of this country are not as sound as those in the homeland. Many immigrants believe that there are more money sharks to the square foot in America than to the square mile in Europe. . . . This suspicion should be attacked by the presentation of facts which immigrants cannot learn by themselves."

In speaking of the sons of immigrants:

"His home is cramped, his clothing scant, and the standard by which the parents were raised in the poverty and penury of the old world is the one by which they raise their children in the new."

"To keep the overgrown son of the stolid Slav in school till he is sixteen or seventeen is not good for the boy or the parents."

"If the men work ten or twelve hours a day they must meet for instruction in the evening."

"There is no more dangerous fallacy brought by immigrants to America than the expectation of making high wages without sacrifice, hard toil, and persistent effort. When they in time find out their error they are disappointed, disgruntled, and rebellious. They become fertile soil for socialistic and anarchistic propaganda, and it is the road along which radicals of the reddest type come into America."

Now, all of these statements are very silly, and most of them are entirely false. This is the sort of Americanization that is being read by hundreds of Young Men's Christian Association secretaries spread broadcast over the country. This is the program which has the endorsement of the American Legion and the sympathy of the National Security League. It is evident that the reader who takes his information from this source will react against the immigrant, against the worker, and in favor of the employer. The whole onus is placed upon the victim rather than on the victimizer. This book of Dr. Roberts contains what is probably the most powerful Americanization program in the country, and it contains at the same time more inaccuracies to the square page than one would believe possible. Its author either is utterly ignorant of his subject or he is speaking advisedly. He is either stupid or malicious.

An organization that had a well-developed Americanization program even before the War is the North American Civic League for Immigrants. The expressed purpose of this agency is "to protect immigrant and resident aliens and to interest and instruct them in American ideals and the requirements of American citizenship." Excellent enough. But, on the other hand, the League keeps a mobile staff of

workers on hand which will be sent to any industrial center during an emergency providing their expenses are paid. By whom? Not by the strikers, we may be sure. In fact, one of the agents of the League, when asked what good purpose the work of the League served in an industrial center during a crisis, replied that they were quite non-partisan, and that their efforts simply "took the workers' minds off the strike." It is an interesting point of view. This comes under the Industrial Committee of the League. Mr. Chauncey Brewer, in speaking for the North American Civic League for Immigrants, remarked that he believed in

"the complete regulation of the foreign population. This will provide supervision of the laborer who is in this country to seek employment, with no expectation of naturalizing himself. . . ."

Now this sort of thing gives one to think. A subsidiary of the League is the Order and Liberty Alliance.[1]

The Inter-Racial Council, under General Coleman Dupont and the more active leadership of Miss Francis Kellor, is less well masked. Here are a few items from its own statements:

"That this association in the procuring and placing of advertising will be a connecting link between the advertiser, the advertising agency, and the foreign-language press, acting as an advisor in the foreign-language newspaper field, and guaranteeing certain standards in the editorial, news, and advertising columns. . . ."

[1] I append a letter received by me shortly after the serial publication of this chapter. Appendix C.

"It will undertake to sell Americanism to the foreign-language press by giving it American advertising. . . ."

Both of these statements are made in connection with the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, a subsidiary of the Inter-Racial Council. Mr. William H. Barr, the recent president of the Council, contributes the following:

"We must show him (i. e., the immigrant) where safety and profit exist on the one hand, and, on the other, where danger lurks in the form of ultra-radicalism, violence, and disorder."

"We have seen the ultra-radicals spreading their doctrines of violence and revolution, while American business men have been going placidly about their business, not realizing that they were sitting on the top of a volcano. Revolutionary agitators have been boring from within the labor organizations; they have been running magazines and papers in English and in foreign languages. It is conservatively estimated that the I. W. W. sells $300,000 worth of literature a year. What has the American business man been doing besides giving inspirational addresses and besides playing with amateurish experiments in Americanization? The foreign born can be reached effectively in several ways—through their organizations, through the press, and through individual plants. Recognizing that fact, a number of business men formed the Inter-Racial Council a little over a year ago. The council to-day is composed of more than 1,100 of the leading industrial establishments in the country and conference groups from among thirty-two of the races in the United States. These two elements in the Council have been working together in the interests of good, wholesome Americanism, and they have been directing their efforts through these channels:

"*First:* Through the foreign-language press, with news and advertisements relating the impracticability of Bolshevist theories, and the real meaning of American democracy.

"*Second:* Through the English-language press, for the purpose of eliminating racial antagonisms which are fertile soil for the seed of Bolshevism."

In a pamphlet issued by the Inter-Racial Council, under the heading of "Aims and Purposes," we find:

"To stabilize industrial conditions.
"To apply American business methods to the foreign-language press by building an American advertising base under it. . . ."

Further, there are specified types of service to be rendered members under these heads: Industrial Members, Mercantile Members, Banking Corporations, American Institutions, and Racial Members. Truly Americanization makes strange bedfellows! The results to be achieved by all this are thus outlined:

"Reduction in unrest and disorder, as a result of plant analyses, which point out conditions that create industrial unrest. . . . Decrease of radicalism through information and counter education in the foreign-language press dealing with attacks upon American institutions, law and order, and industry."

Without going into the matter any further, though there is plenty of material, we are compelled to doubt the authenticity of that Americanization which proceeds from an organization largely made up of employers of foreign labor, the expressed purpose of which is to "stabilize industrial conditions" and to influence the foreign-language press through its advertising.

The National Security League, now engaged in suppressing Socialism in our colleges, does not attempt to hide its light under a bushel. Beside its sympathy in the point of view exposed in the program of the Young Men's Christian Association, and joining with the American Legion in calling the National American Council, of which more later, the Security League has a few opinions of its own on the foreign born. As, for instance:

"The great majority of these foreigners see nothing in the United States except a national boarding place, where they shall give as little as possible and take all they can. We Americans have blindly neglected to make it a home for them, and have blindly permitted them to develop influence and power. There is indeed 'no place like home.'"

In a further statement of purpose the League says:

"We are sending volunteer speakers daily to fight Bolshevism and preach Americanism before all sorts of audiences.

"Fighting radical tendencies among college undergraduates. Actively coöperating with Government agencies in the anti-Bolshevist fight."

Doubtless it was this last statement that inspired late Attorney General Palmer to say, "I am in entire accord with the purpose of the National Security League, . . ." and to pay $25 for a life membership.

Just what kind of Americanization are we to expect from this? It was the National Security League, along with the American Legion, the endorser of the program of the Young Men's Christian Association, that called a meeting of some sixty-seven organizations interested in Americanization work in Wash-

ington during the past winter. The object was to bring these organizations together under the name of the National American Council, which council would coördinate the work of Americanization throughout the country. This object has not yet been attained, nor has it yet been entirely frustrated. If it is eventually accomplished under the tender guidance of the National Security League, which originally instituted the movement, it is rather clear that the immigrant groups can hope for nothing better than a continuation of the Palmer campaign. Later the National American Council again met and organized on the following basis: President, David Jayne Hill; Vice-Presidents, Charles D. Orth, of the National Security League, Frederick W. Galbraith, of the American Legion, Albert E. Shiels, of the Inter-Racial Council; Honorary President, Warren G. Harding; Honorary Vice-Presidents, Calvin Coolidge and Mrs. Finley J. Sheppard. This list is not only indicative. It is simply priceless.

Among the organizations included in the membership of the Council are: The Constitutional League of America, the Inter-Racial Council, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of 1812, the American Defense Society, the Constitutional Defense League, the National Security League, and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

The Loyal American League, which is an outgrowth of the American Protective League, is not backward, either, in showing its hand. It remarks:

"What is Capital? It is plainly evident that an attempt is being made by certain groups to destroy the industries of America. They use as one of their means a false picture of 'Capital.' They constantly cry 'Down with Capital and Capitalism!' until the unthinking laboring man is likely to get the idea that 'Capital' is a bad thing. Nothing could be more untrue, as Capital is the most necessary thing in the world for the success of Labor. . . ."

"Therefore do not consider Capital a useless thing, nor a foe, but rather as the greatest and most useful friend of Labor. They must at all times coöperate and pull together for their mutual welfare. . . ."

"42. *The True Meaning of 'a Slacker.'*—To-day the nation needs every able-bodied man to be at work, producing to his full capacity every working day. Due to strikes, the nation is behind in the movement of freight, the production of coal, and many other commodities. The nations of Europe need both food and clothing. The weak, the sick, the aged, and little children cry out for production, production.

"As a consequence of all this, should not the finger of shame be pointed at a man who loafs off the job or who loafs on the job? No matter what his position may be in life, all are equally guilty of being a slacker who do not produce up to their full maximum capacity to-day."

"43. *The American Creed.*—I shall repel any attempt at revolution through industrial strikes as wholly unwarranted."

"41. *Some Plain and Sane Truths About the Foreigner.*—The radical 'Reds' are spending a lot of time in an endeavor to convince the foreigner that he is being mistreated in this country. They want him to hate our institutions."

"36. *Talking About 'Reds.'*—The principal advantages that will accrue from deporting a few of the

'Reds' will lie in the fact that it will cause talk. *It is notice to all the world that we are not going to allow a bunch of foreigners to run this country, and that is worth something;* but the main thing to be gained from the deportation is that our own people will begin talking Bolshevism, and in the talking, think about it and learn something of the terrible failure that follows the introduction of the idea. Sure, let's talk about the 'Reds;' they can't stand the talk."

"38. *America and Americans.—America must be made safe for—Americans. Our children must get the spell of pride that we got. Every man and woman who will not get in line must get out!* These pregnant fields of ours hold sacred blood. And the memory of those who gave all that they had to make life glorious shall not be despoiled by those whose minds reek with poison and anarchy."

The Loyal American League is Americanizing very busily indeed along these pregnant lines.

Here is a statement from one of the posts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars:

"*Resolved,* That this organization endeavor to bring about the speaking of the language of our country at all times and in all places within the boundaries of the United States.

"*Resolved,* That this organization emphatically favors the publication of all newspapers of our country in the language of our country, and positively discourages as an act of disloyalty the publication of any newspaper in the language of any other race or country.

"*Resolved,* That this organization use its utmost efforts through legislation and other means to insist that the alien population of this country prepare to become citizens, or else prepare to leave the country; and furthermore that all aliens who for cause have been refused citizenship be at once deported."

Now, that is Americanization as *is* Americanization!

Let us cast an eye over the origin of the United Americans, of which organization President Harding has accepted the honorary vice-presidency:

" . . . A number of leading men representing many states conducted a quiet but energetic and thorough investigation early in 1919 of the activities of various revolutionary organizations and the efforts of these activities. These men, with others who had become interested, held a meeting in Chicago, June 11, 1919, at which they formed the nucleus of a national organization which they named 'United Americans,' to cope with the conditions revealed by this investigation.

"For instance, the minds of the growing generation are being poisoned by books and tracts teaching free love and anarchy, sugar-coated under alluring names. Many teachers have been led to advocate unsound precepts; so have many university professors and school superintendents.

"Again, radical news and editorial writers have infiltrated into newspaper offices everywhere, ever on the alert for a chance to spread their insidious propaganda. Many publications more or less openly preach sedition. Another committee will render useful service by studying proper means to neutralize this source of contagion."

The bulletin of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce has an account of the launching of the California campaign of the United Americans. A resolution was adopted to form a state body and to raise $50,000 to carry on the work. It was further explained by one of the national officers present that the United Americans had been fully developed in twenty to twenty-five states, and that thirty-eight states had chosen

national committeemen. In addressing the meeting, Frederick J. Koster, vice-president of the national board, stated:

"You all know that there are forces at work, and they seem to be very well organized, tending toward the destruction of our Government, tending to bring about revolution. It is time that we should unite as Americans in defense of our institutions. . . . In America one thing must never happen: there must never be permitted a fixation of class. This is not a nation in which classes dare to be established. . . ."

Frederick V. Fisher, assistant national director, remarked:

"There is at present a dangerous tendency toward class expression that must be removed."

It would be enlightening to know whether the United Americans intend to start their missionary work with the class that harbors Judge Gary, who is rather intimately associated with the welfare of some hundreds of thousands of foreign born in this country, or with that containing Mr. Debs.

The slogan of the United Americans is: "We believe in the Ten Commandments, the Golden Rule, and the Constitution of the United States."

Sic transit gloria mundi!

We may detect a certain prejudice on the subject in the Daughters of the American Revolution, for one of their spokeswomen said:

"We are strangely affected by the clothes we wear. Garments create a mental and social atmosphere. What can be hoped for the Americanism of a man who insists on employing a London tailor? One's very food affects his Americanism. What kind of American

consciousness can grow in the atmosphere of sauerkraut and Limburger cheese? Or, what can you expect of the Americanism of the man whose breath always reeks of garlic?"

What indeed, madam, what indeed!

The Sons of the American Revolution are not wholly without an opinion on the matter either, inasmuch as the District of Columbia branch gave their official endorsement to a statement made by Mrs. George Maynard Minor, president of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the sister organization. This statement had to do with the danger of radical movements and propaganda in this country. At the same meeting of the Sons at which endorsement was made of Mrs. Minor's warning, an address was given by Wade Hampton Ellis, the speaker of the evening. This is what Mr. Ellis thinks about it.

"There is no denying the fact that the number of reckless agitators and fanatics who are openly and defiantly preaching the doctrine of force and violence in the destruction of all government is growing every day. There are 250 daily, weekly, and monthly publications in the United States which are boldly advocating armed revolution right here in America. . . . In spite of all this the representatives of transatlantic steamship companies which operate into the port of New York alone have announced that there are 15,000,000 Europeans clamoring for passage to America. . . . There is a very quick and effective remedy in existing laws for them (i. e., the aliens). If they are unfit they may be excluded. If they are dangerous after they get here they may be deported. These laws must be rigorously enforced. They must love the country or leave it. They must get out or get under—get out of the country or get under the flag."

Would it be an error to believe that neither the Sons, the Daughters, nor Mr. Ellis, whose address they applauded, have much sympathy with those immigrants whom they are about to Americanize? And the last two sentences are really inimitable.

The American Legion presents a problem of a somewhat different nature. There is a wide divergence between what the Legion says and what it does. In its public statements, in its bulletins from national headquarters, the Legion seems sound on Americanization, though it is very vague. On the other hand, and in spite of this, the foreign-born groups have no confidence whatever in the Legion, and are more than likely to regard any Americanization issuing from this source with a deep and cordial suspicion. Why? Probably for a variety of reasons. In the first place, the American Legion has (forgive the repetition) given its endorsement to the Americanization program and policy of the Young Men's Christian Association; in the second, it has openly joined hands with the National Security League, which is thoroughly tainted with Palmerism, in calling the National American Council. More than these, however, is the fact that individual Legion posts have appeared to regard Americanization more as super-police duty than as fraternal understanding. It is difficult to mob Kreisler's concerts, break up meetings being held by Poles and Lithuanians, refuse the Assistant Secretary of Labor permission to speak, threaten German societies with rifles when they try to hold a tag-day for starving women and children, and endorse a plan by which Legion members are to be mobilized for active duty during times of strikes by "radicals," and still have it

believed that you are doing unprejudiced Americanization work. The fault appears to be chiefly with individual posts, but unless national headquarters takes public and stringent action against such posts the Legion must expect to be misunderstood. Certainly the foreign born have no doubts in the matter. To the mass of them the Legion is, rightly or wrongly, anathema. There is nothing to be hoped for here.

Mention should also be made of the lamentable Ku Klux Klan, the platform of which is anti-Colored, anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, and anti-Alien. These worshipers of the god of negation who advertise themselves as "100 per cent Americans," are exerting an increasingly powerful and malign influence through the southern, southwestern, and western states. The organization is thoroughly inimical, and should be stamped out like any other plague.

The actual Americanization work of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is carried on by its Committee on American Ideals. Just how much this will eventually amount to it is difficult to predict, but a few excerpts from some of the Information Sheets sent by this Committee to members, and carefully marked "*Not for Publication,*" will serve to show a certain slant:

"*Personnel Work.*—Information has reached the Committee on American Ideals that there is in existence an association whose members are trying to obtain employment as personnel administrators with large corporations, with the object of re-creating management along radical lines. The reports received indicate that some of these people have obtained positions in army arsenals, with steel companies, and with other

industrial concerns, and that they will carry on their proposed activities in accordance with a definite plan.

"*Police Work.*—Superintendent of Public Safety Mills, of Philadelphia, announced recently that the police department will hereafter have a camera squad, which will be sent out on all riot calls and take photographs of persons engaged in causing riots and similar disturbances. It is anticipated that moving-picture cameras will eventually be employed for this work, and that the police will be enabled to study, within a few hours, photographs of riots which will permit them to determine to a degree who the leaders of the disturbance were. 'The importance of having photographs as evidence where large masses of people are involved is obvious,' said Superintendent Mills. The Committee on American Ideals suggests that in communities of considerable size where riots may take place, the attention of the local authorities be called to this suggestion with a view to providing in advance for the use of cameras as suggested."

Americanization conducted along these lines is going to be highly dangerous for someone, but whether the doctor or the patient it is impossible to say. We may be sure, however, that so far as the immigrant is concerned, the intention is either to kill or cure. And one *is* able to perceive a certain bias. The organization that has been most popular with the United States Chamber of Commerce is the United Americans; but just how far this interest extends I am unable to say.

The local chambers of commerce, boards of trade, boards of commerce, and the like throughout the country are most of them actively engaged in the work. Their points of view and their programs vary greatly, and while many of them appear to be doing excellent work, some are perhaps just a trifle less excellent. It is to be remembered that when so much Americaniza-

tion is simply a slight mask for anti-radicalism and anti-labor campaigns these commercial and trade organizations naturally fall under suspicion. It is so natural to expect them to do the wrong thing, to take sides definitely, that one has the right to insist that they be not only clear in their statements, but even that they lean over backward in order to avoid any trace of partisanship.

The Americanization Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh included the following in its "Statement of Principles and Tentative Plan":

"The labor turn-over problem has become and is becoming increasingly vital to the continued prosperity of our community. A well-conducted, constructive, unified Americanization program, while not advocated as the panacea for all industrial ills, will, beyond question, materially save in dollars and cents by cutting down on this item of great loss."

The Americanization Committee of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce sent a letter to the business houses of the city, in which the following was given as the desirable result to be attained through Americanization:

"Decrease of friction and disorder among the workmen; decrease of labor turn-over; increase in production; decrease of spoiled material; better care of tools and machinery; decrease of accidents and strikes; increased intelligence and alertness of the workers, and stabilization of attitude toward employers."

Yes, but what does the foreign worker get out of it?

It is a hard proposition to solve. Are the chambers of commerce and organizations of a similar nature to be barred from Americanization work altogether?

They should not be, for some of them have splendid programs which are being carried out in an excellent fashion. There is a natural bias, however, that must be taken into consideration and duly accounted for. One is likely enough to look for an unprejudiced point of view from a wholly non-partisan agency, though one does not always get it, but where there is the slightest possibility of prejudice on either the one side or the other, one must not only look, but look with suspicion. The burden of proof is with the presumptive offender.

We have seen in the course of these pages how stupidity, ignorance, and prejudice have all played their parts in Americanization. Our case, even as we have made it, is by no means complete. It is merely an indictment by implication. More might be said about the organizations and agencies with which we have dealt, and there are other organizations no less worthy of dishonorable mention. But if the reader has been awakened to a danger, if he has been moved to inquire for himself, and to select or reject not only by actual evidence, but by that subtler standard by which each one of us must judge himself, the task is well justified. And now for one last word on which the whole issue depends: What *is* Americanization?

"To Americanize" is an active, transitive verb: that is the trouble. It implies, as we have said, something done to somebody by someone else; it suggests an action which involves going from one point to another. What it should mean, what we must make it mean, is a mutuality of action by which those at either end of the space separating them meet at a central point. When they meet there, we shall have true Americanization, for that central point is that which is too often

left out of consideration—the spirit of America itself. He who tries to substitute for it a selfish end, he whose mind is not open and whose hands are not clean, will never reach the goal, though he may lead others astray along the by-path of his own particular endeavor.

Most of the foreign born get their only preconceived idea of American democracy through two things: the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. They come here expecting that the principles enunciated in these documents are living forces which dictate the policy and procedure of our national life. They are disappointed. There is not a single dogma in either of these declarations that we have not violated wantonly, frequently, and openly against our immigrants in the past twenty years. Until the phrase "Law and Order" has been revised to read "Law, Order, and Justice," it will constitute nothing but a menace. The code by reason of which liberty in this country was brought into being has been well nigh demolished, and the foreign-born seeks for another code to guide him. He finds the god of material success hailed as that which made America great, and he either succumbs to this doctrine or struggles on in the hope that the liberty he has not found may be granted to his children. In his struggles he may perchance fall into the pitfalls digged for the discontented; but if he falls it is by reason of his strength, not of his weakness. It is we who have forgotten, and it is he who has remembered.

There have been many quotations in these pages, so let us quote once more. It was Thomas Jefferson who said during the War of Independence:

"The spirit of the times may alter, will alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot may become persecutor, and better men be his victims. It can never be too often repeated that the time for fixing the essential right, on a legal basis, is while our rulers are honest, ourselves united. From the conclusion of this war we shall be going downhill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war will be heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion."

Jefferson's prophecy has been fulfilled, and the fact of that fulfillment constitutes the only real barrier between us and those who have come to us seeking that *essential right* which we have let slip in our *sole faculty of making money*. Nine out of every ten immigrants who come here with any political or social ideal in mind come expecting and searching for the Americanism of 1776, only to be met with the 100 per cent variety. One hundred per cent Americanism of the twentieth century is a bitter mockery of that Americanism on which this nation was founded, and we must either return to and realize again the fundamental principles and rights of our forefathers or openly repudiate them in favor of other principles and rights which may be far different. Unless both native and foreign born work shoulder to shoulder toward the actual accomplishment of that democratic ideal to which to-day we pay only lip-service, Americanization will continue to be what it too often is, a mask behind

which is concealed selfishness, prejudice, intolerance, and the desire for that power which is realized in terms of money. If Americanization is ever to become a sincerely constructive force in our national life, it must begin with the native Americans.

June, 1921.

XII

NINETY-SEVEN PER CENT CHAOS

THE unmethodical American mind is fond of figures. It is the unconscious tribute paid by the inexact to the exacting. A decimal point takes the place of the sacred cat of Egypt, and a percentage sign comes to have all the blighting mystery of the crocodile. As usual, however, the symbol is finally worshiped for itself alone, while the thought it was designed to express is forgotten. Thus we have one-half of 1 per cent beer and 3 per cent immigration. That is, we have 99½ per cent dissatisfaction on the one hand and 97 per cent chaos on the other. Neither of these self-imposed percentages can be said to be an unqualified success; the beer, because it has too little kick; the immigration, because it has too much.

The present restrictive immigration law provides in effect that only 3 per cent of the number of those already residing in this country of each nationality shall be admitted during the period the law is in force. Nationality is determined by place of birth, and right here there is trouble. For instance: A story is current that an Englishman, born in Egypt of English parents, was refused entry on the ground that the quota for Egypt was exhausted. Having been born in Egypt, he was, according to law, an Egyptian. If he had been born in a barn he probably would have been admitted as hay. Truly the laws of the Medes and Persians were as mere nursery jingles compared to some of our

legislation! And this is not an isolated instance. It is astonishing what a number of people are thoughtless enough to be born far from home. The Englishman has plenty of brothers and sisters in misfortune. But there is more than that.

Recently a young girl applied for admission to this country through Ellis Island. She was a Czech, twenty-two years old, with Czech parents living in Illinois, who had sent for her. She was healthy, literate, and capable, but—she had been born in Jugoslavia. The Jugoslav monthly quota had been exhausted, though the Czechoslovak was not. Nevertheless, she was classed as a Jugoslav, and was hence refused entry into this country, where her parents were anxiously awaiting her, and this, despite the fact that her parents were Czech, that she herself was a citizen of Czechoslovakia, and that she had lived in Czechoslovakia for years. Problems of this type are all too common. The authorities can do nothing; they are bound hand and foot by a badly written law. The ministry of Jugoslavia met the situation sensibly enough by forbidding any further sale of steamship tickets to America. Jugoslavs, who had purchased and paid for tickets, were allowed to leave only if those tickets were purchased before the 16th of July and if the owners actually sailed before the 15th of September. Whoever was unable to leave before that time was reimbursed for his ticket. Thus the steamship companies were forced willy-nilly to coöperate. And, speaking of steamship companies, that brings up another phase of the matter.

The steamship companies have discovered how to beat our new 3 per cent law so that whoever else loses

they won't. The law provides that if a steamship company transports to this country any person who is inadmissible, the company shall furnish the transportation of that person back to the point of embarkation and, in some instances, pay an additional fine. This provision is manifestly wise and just. But with the greatly increased number of immigrants returned to the old countries because of the 3 per cent law, because they are in excess of their various national quotas, some of the steamship companies began to take thought. They feared that they would actually lose money on the transaction. So some of them simply beat the game by charging enough for a third class fare to the United States not only to cover the cost of passage over, but that of the passage back again in the bargain. In this way if an immigrant is refused admission, he has paid his own fare home again. But on the other hand, how about the thousands who are eligible and who are admitted? Their fare is paid both ways, too. It is a profitable enough business for the company engaged in it, but it does seem rather rough on the immigrant, who has spent years trying to scrape enough together to get to the country where "The Promise is Performed." In consequence of this some of the rates for a third-class passage to the United States have become, comparatively speaking, tremendous.

It costs much more to come here than to go. For instance, a line which charges $145 for a second-class fare to Europe charges $125 for a third-class fare to the United States. On an average, and to show the proportions, it may be said that a line charging $100 for a second-class passage over here will probably charge

nowadays about $75 for a third-class passage. Considering what the rates used to be, and more especially considering the accommodations of the usual third class, this is appalling. Many non-admissible immigrants who have been returned to their own countries have complained, too, that while the accommodations afforded them in the third class coming over here were hardly bearable, the accommodations they were obliged to put up with on the return trip were truly ghastly. This attitude on the part of some steamship companies has made matters very difficult both for the immigrant and for the immigration authorities on this side. Instead of coöperating to make the enforcing of the 3 per cent law as simple and as easy as possible, they have been ruthless in making it more complex, apparently indifferent just so long as they were able to make a profit.

The situation culminated in what may be called "the *Aquitania* incident." The Hungarian quota for the year was exhausted on December 8th. At that time there were 150 Hungarians being held at Ellis Island because they were in excess of the quota. On December 9th the *Aquitania* of the Cunard Line arrived with 204 more Hungarian immigrants. Soon after the S. S. *Paris* came in, bringing twenty Hungarians, and the *Kroonland* followed with forty, thus making a total of 414 Hungarians who could not be admitted. The situation of these people was desperate. They had sold all their belongings in Hungary preparatory to beginning life in a new country. If they were deported they could not even be landed in Hungary, but would have to disembark at Cherbourg, and many of them had not enough money to regain

the Hungarian border. Nearly all of these unfortunates had passports viséd in regular order by American Consuls abroad. They were told that they would be allowed to land in America, and their steamship tickets were bought on that understanding. Americans of Hungarian birth and descent were much concerned over the matter; the Hungarian press and organizations in this country evinced a well-warranted agitation; representations were made to President Harding and to Secretary of Labor Davis in the effort to relieve the sufferings of these 414 marooned immigrants and to save them from possible ruin. Secretary Davis responded by doing the only humane thing he could do under the law—admitting the whole 414 under a bond, which will be extended until Congress legislates to make the admission permanent and legal.

And Congress, having in the first instance given birth to the grotesque 3 per cent law, is at present only concerned in reducing this percentage still further. That is as though a motorist had run into a man, broken his legs, and then, instead of endeavoring to repair the damage his stupidity had caused, had decided to come back and run over him again in order to finish the job thoroughly. It is like the old saw, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." In this instance Congress evidently proceeds on the policy that "The only good immigrant is one who does not immigrate." What is needed is to repair the machinery, not to scuttle the ship. The Bureau of Immigration should be given more power, and the steamship companies should be brought into line.

In the immediate emergency Secretary Davis has asked the Attorney General to bring action against

the Cunard Line, and to fine them as severely as the law permits. The outcome is uncertain. The Cunard Line protests its innocence, saying that it was not informed of the exhaustion of the quota until too late. On the other hand, Commissioner General Husband characterizes the Cunard Line as an old offender. What the legal status of this particular case is I do not know, but there is no doubt whatever in my mind but that certain steamship companies have evaded the law just so far as they were able, leaving the miserable immigrants to foot the bills and the Bureau of Immigration to take the blame.

Further than this, it is notable that, as most of these Hungarian immigrants have had their passports viséd, more visés have been issued than the national quotas allowed for. This points either to a lack of proper liaison between our Consular Service in Europe and the immigration authorities on this side, or to deplorable carelessness on the part of individual consuls.

The immigration authorities themselves, with the best intentions in the world, have been led astray in the matter. When the present law, the Dillingham Act, was passed very little time was allowed before it went into operation. It was a matter of a few weeks only. The obvious result of this was that at the very outset the monthly quotas of several of the nationalities were exceeded almost perforce. There had not been time to get the law really in working order. Many immigrants found themselves of a sudden liable to deportation through no fault of their own. It was unjust, and the immigration officials, recognizing this fact, tried to find a way of beating the devil around the bush until conditions should be adjusted. They de-

cided to let these prospective immigrants into the country under bond. An immigrant can be admitted in this manner for six, twelve, or eighteen months. A nominal bond is required as a guarantee that he will return when his time is up. The whole procedure is devised actually to cover the case of those immigrants who come here temporarily, and who have no intention of taking up permanent residence in this country. But those immigrants, who were in excess of their various national quotas and who were admitted under bond, did come here to establish themselves permanently.

They had, and have, no present intention of returning. Instead of reporting back to the immigration authorities when their time is up so that they can be checked out and sent back to Europe, they will, for the most part, simply lose themselves and stay on. The authorities were not only merciful, but, strange to add, they were legally right in the bargain. It was simply a hole in the law. Now this was all very well, but the fact is that one of two things may happen. If the quota of any nationality is not exhausted at the end of the fiscal year, those immigrants belonging to that nationality and who have been admitted under bond, can and will be counted in on the quota. Thus their permanent residence here will be made legal.[1] On the other hand, those immigrants admitted under bond who belong to nationalities the quota of which is exhausted will be here illegally. They cannot be reached for deportation in most instances, and the attempt to naturalize them will probably be attended

[1] The yearly quotas of over half the nationalities are already exhausted, so that there is small hope in this direction.

by legal difficulties. If they apply for their first papers, the judge may or may not give them; he may in fact return the applicants to the port of entry for deportation. Certainly it was a temptation to beat a poor law, and at the same time to show mercy where it was due. The immigration authorities are in no way to blame. Their intentions were excellent. Nevertheless, see where this procedure may lead them! The truth of the matter is that the American habit of hasty legislation is apt to provoke so complex a situation that no one on earth can follow a thread through without cutting a knot.

And with the newer and smaller nations—how does the 3 per cent law affect them? Two examples will suffice to show. The Lithuanians are ignored. Under this law they are classed as Russians, God save the mark! They are allowed no quota of their own. If a Lithuanian desires to enter America, he must swear that he is a Russian; he must be false to his mother country. Surely this is strange. Wait a bit: perhaps the situation of the former Russian Ukraine will explain matters.

According to the Dillingham Act, the 3 per cent exclusion law, all changes in political boundaries since 1910 shall be disregarded unless the creation of a new country or the transfer of territory from one country to another has been officially recognized by the United States. In consequence of this provision, immigrants from the former Russian Ukraine, actually the Ukrainian Soviet, which is of course unrecognized by the United States, are charged against the Russian quota. However, emigration has been made so difficult by the Soviet authorities themselves that there is prac-

tically no chance for the Ukrainian would-be emigrant to come over and suffer on this side of the water. The Russian yearly quota, 34,247, is still unexhausted (18,938 was the balance on January 31st), but as yet practically only Jewish immigrants have arrived from the Ukraine.

A large part of the former Russian Ukraine, Volhynia, and Kholmland, was taken by Poland, and was in fact ceded to Poland by the Soviet Government in the Treaty of Riga in 1920. The Treaty of Riga, however, and the eastern boundary of Poland as established by this treaty have never been recognized by the United States, who thus apparently maintains her policy of "splendid isolation" from foreign entanglements. Nevertheless, and apparently at total variance with this principle of disregarding the new boundaries, the natives of these parts of the Ukraine have been charged to the quota of Poland. Explain this who can. In order to come to America, natives from this territory must "disguise" themselves as Poles and take an oath of allegiance to Poland, so that with them the 3 per cent law is primarily a matter of Polish home-politics.

Eastern Galicia, formerly a province of Austria, is the only Ukrainian territory which has been granted a separate immigration quota because of its political status, which is defined as follows:

"As Eastern Galicia was given up by Austria, according to the Treaty of St. Germain, but is not yet allotted to any other country, the eastern boundary of Poland being not yet defined, the quota of Eastern Galicia is 5,781 for the fiscal year of 1921-22."

This gives a monthly quota of 1,156, and according to the reports of the Bureau of Immigration issued on October 3d, only 302 immigrants arrived from Eastern Galicia during the first two months of the fiscal year as stated, July 1st to August 31st. Nevertheless, a Ukrainian immigrant from this territory, who is at present on Long Island, has not been able as yet to bring over his family because of "limitation of immigration." He sent them transportation in the form of steamship tickets, affidavits, and full information as to how to obtain passports and visés. They succeeded in getting their passports, but the affidavits were taken from them by the same Polish authorities who issued the passports. And, after making a long and expensive journey to Warsaw, they were refused American visés. To cap the climax, they were then advised not to wait for another affidavit, but to return to their Galician village, because the quota for their nationality was exhausted and they could not be admitted even if they were allowed to sail. This was at a time when less than one-third of the monthly quota for Eastern Galicia had been filled, and when not even one-nineteenth of the yearly quota was used up. Naturally, not only the four European members of the family suffered serious loss through this strange lapse, but the American member as well was out the cost of the steamship tickets he had sent over.

In spite of this adherence to certain of the old political boundaries on the one hand, we find that numerous complaints are being received from former Hungarians because they are being classified as Jugoslavs, Czechoslovaks, Poles, and Roumanians.

As for the Jugoslavs, their plight is indeed deplor-

able. And right here it may be interesting to quote again direct from the law:

"The Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor jointly shall, as soon as feasible after the enactment of this act, prepare a statement showing the number of persons of the various nationalities resident in the United States as determined by the United States census of 1910, which statement shall be the population basis for the purposes of the act. In case of changes in political boundaries in foreign countries occurring subsequent to 1910 and resulting (1) in the creation of new countries, the Governments of which are recognized by the United States, and (2) in the transfer of territory from one country to another, such transfer being recognized by the United States, such officials jointly shall estimate the number of persons resident in the United States in 1910 who were born within the area included in such new countries or in such territories so transferred, and revise the population basis as to each country involved in such change of political boundary."

The real trouble is that many of the racial groups feel that these estimates have not been accurately made. It is apparent that at the very least such a task would be most intricate and difficult. Yet almost no time was allowed to gather or to analyze the necessary data. The 1920 census figures were not yet available, and perhaps it was as well that they were not, for, as far as the immigrant groups were concerned, this census only tended to make a bad matter worse. The yearly quota allowed Jugoslavia is only 6,405, while that of Austria is 7,444, and yet Jugoslavia has a population of about 14,000,000, while Austria has only about 6,000,000. In view of this,

although there has not been an unusually large immigration from Jugoslavia, the quota is already exhausted. Probably it is futile to lament over the pathos of individual instances, although there are hundreds of heart-breaking cases, but it may be remarked that the immigration from Jugoslavia consists largely of the relatives of Jugoslavs already resident in this country who are coming to join their families on this side.

It is evident, then, that the Dillingham Act is faulty both in conception and in practical operation. It is one of those sad laws, to which the American people are so prone, that look so well on paper and work so badly in fact. It is another example of rushing into over hasty legislation, and of legislating through prejudice rather than through common sense. It is certainly true that the present immigration authorities have done all that they could to alleviate this state of affairs, but their hands have been tied and their work reduced to chaos. Under less able men the situation would have been worse; under the present law it could hardly have been better. One step could and should be made: The steamship companies ought to be brought into line and forced, if they are unwilling to act in the matter of their own initiative, to coöperate with the Government to the extent of at least allowing the law a fair trial. They could do this, and they should be made to do it. The time is already here to revise this law or to draft an entirely new one. With the experience we have gained by this time, it should not be difficult at least to avoid certain pitfalls, and to deduce more readily the presence of others. Six months have passed since the 3 per cent restriction law was put into operation, and already more than one-half of the

quotas of the various nationalities, quotas intended to cover a period of twelve months, have been exhausted. Yet the only interest Congress is showing in the matter is a desire to restrict still further. We are in the process of throwing the handle after the ax.

December, 1921.

XIII

WELCOME TO OUR COUNTRY

I

ARE the many immigrants of diverse creeds and nationalities, who come to us daily, really welcome? Opinions differ. Well, then, since we permit, since we even ask them to come, are they made to feel welcome? Are they in fact welcomed *by* us? Opinions will not differ here among those who are in any degree informed. It is easy to learn that the paucity of welcome afforded the immigrant has not only made the problem of so-called Americanization an enormously complex and difficult one, but that it has even aroused bitter resentment and open criticism of us in those governments which these same immigrants will soon be asked to forswear for our own. At the very outset it may be stated that the absurd Dillingham Act, the 3 per cent restriction law, has sufficed to bring this matter to a head. So far as it is possible to ascertain, this is the only good purpose it has so far achieved.

A committee of six persons has been appointed to investigate the present conditions at our ports of entry, and to make recommendations for the betterment of these conditions. The committee was appointed by our new Commissioner General of Immigration, W. W. Husband, one of the most able men who has ever filled the post, and the personnel of the committee is excellent, consisting as it does of Miss Julia Lathrop,

Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer, Mr. Frederick Croxton, Mr. Charles Neill, Miss Lola Lasker, and Mr. W. W. Sibray. If this committee cannot get results, we may as well make up our minds to get along as best we can in the same old messy way we have been doing.

So far the Committee has investigated Ellis Island and has made its recommendations, which are as follows:

"The appointment of an official Director of Information, who, under the immediate direction of the Commissioner, shall have complete charge of all welfare work at the Island. Ample financial provision has been made for this service.

"The appointment of interpreters, speaking several languages and having training in social work, for service among immigrants awaiting inspection, during which time, for obvious reasons, they are not allowed to communicate directly with friends.

"The development of a plan for the systematic interchange of permissible information between detained immigrants and their waiting friends, and for keeping families advised as to the condition of members who may be in the hospital.

"That separate and greatly improved day and night quarters be provided for women with young children, with a trained dietitian in charge of children's feeding.

"The representatives of private welfare authorized to work at the Station may, under the direction and supervision of the official Director of Immigration, assist in general welfare work among immigrants after they are duly examined.

"That three separate religious services—Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant—shall be held on Sundays, with occasional services for other groups, if needed.

"That when aliens are debarred and deported the reason therefor shall be explained to them and, when practicable, to interested relatives or friends.

"That some welfare workers shall be on duty at all hours, rather than during the day only, as at present.

"At the present time no organized information or welfare service is available to arriving immigrants until their examination is completed, and if they are held for examination by boards of special inquiry it is frequently necessary to detain them for several weeks apart from the public. Under the new plan official interpreters will meet arriving aliens when they embark from the ships to the barges which convey them to Ellis Island, and information service will be available during the entire period of their detention at the Island.

"In the past, immigrants coming to the Island from ships have been detained in the barge which brought them, pending medical inspection, but under the new arrangement they are taken from the barge to commodius and comfortable receiving rooms in the main immigration building while awaiting medical examination. Official interpreters will also be on duty in the receiving rooms. Formerly, milk and crackers were provided only to small children, but are now served to all women and children in the dining-room at meals, and in the detention quarters between meals, and at bedtime. A night steward has been added to the commissary force to supervise this service.

"Through a rearrangement of space, the large room on the ground floor of the main building, now used as a railway ticket office and money exchange, will be utilized as a day room for detained women with children. The room will be equipped with conveniences for the care of children, and both mothers and children will have easy access to the recreation ground, which will be equipped as a playground. Other large outside rooms adjacent to extensive porches overlooking the bay will be available as day rooms for other immigrants, so that all who are detained for any length of time will have comfortable and pleasant day quarters, with access to out-of-door recreation spaces.

A large outside room is to be equipped as a dormitory for women and children, who are now obliged to occupy the general dormitories in which all immigrants sleep. When the plan outlined has been put into effect the conditions under which immigrants are detained at Ellis Island will be immeasureably improved."

So far as they go, these recommendations are excellent. It remains to be seen how they will work out in actual practice. Certainly they show a sympathetic understanding of the situation, and equally certainly they will alleviate present conditions. I cannot, however, consider them as more than a momentary panacea. They are not wide enough in scope or intensive enough in character to be considered in any wise as a permanent solution of the difficulty. In spite of this, we must regard them with gratitude, for they are a very distinct step in advance.

The average person east of the Rockies thinks of immigration almost wholly in terms of Ellis Island. This port of entry, which the immigrant has aptly characterized as "The Island of Tears," has become, in the popular mind, symbolic of immigration as a whole. Ellis Island is indeed the largest of our ports of entry, and, it may not be too much to say, the worst. The Island is too small to do the work assigned to it. Its machinery is superannuated. This is the fault of Congress, which has failed to appropriate adequate sums for the immigration service, just as it is the fault of Congress that this whole service, from the Commissioner General down, is woefully underpaid. Nevertheless, one must go as far as one can with what one has. There is a new Commissioner at Ellis Island, Mr. Robert Tod, and there is at present

reason to believe that under his administration some of the general inefficiency and petty evils which existed under ex-Commissioner Wallis will have short shrift. Commissioner Tod gives us reason to hope; he has yet to be proven.

To consider immigration simply in terms of the ports of entry is obviously an error. That is merely the climatic point in the immigrant's travail. There is much to be done at these ports, or more specifically at Ellis Island, but there is more to be done elsewhere; for at the port of entry it is largely a matter of readjusting and reassembling already existing machinery, while at the other stages of the journey, from the point of departure in Europe to the point of arrival in the United States, there is practically no machinery at all; so that whatever is needed will have to be created. But in any event, taking Ellis Island, which is notorious because the sore has come to a head there, as a starting point, what do we find?

There are two general faults, one capable of immediate correction, the other capable of correction only through legislation and the appropriation of funds. The first of these faults lies in the fact that not a few of the employees at the Island have become, not unnaturally, case-hardened; that is, their sensibilities have become so deadened that their point of view on the immigrant is not unlike that of a drover on his herd. The immigrants are nothing but units which go to make up the task of him who has to deal with them. In consequence we find that discourtesy is rampant, and that even brutality on occasion is far from absent. Remember, I am speaking of the Island as it has been up to now. What changes the new

administration will make are yet to be seen. Especially of late long stories of mistreatment of immigrants have been given to the press and have been spread broadcast. That they are exaggerated is probable, but that they have a basis of truth is undeniable. The immigrant at the port of entry is in a peculiar position: he does not know what is going to happen to him; he cannot understand the language of the country. His situation is of the most vital consequence to him. He has cut loose from all his old ties; he has sold out his home and his belongings, and he is prepared to start life anew. It is literally quite as important for him as a major operation, and it is certainly highly to be desired that the immigration officials treat him with the same consideration that the doctors and nurses would use if he were going under the knife. In both instances an important step is to be made; in the one instance he hazards his life, and in the other his career. The truth is that at the port of entry he is quite likely to be treated as a suspect. He is spoken to roughly, sometimes even handled roughly. He is denied rights and conveniences, not because there is any reason in such denial, but because it would be too much trouble to see that he got them. Nine times out of ten he is finally spewed forth from the Island frightened and bewildered, ready to fall a victim to the first of the multitude of land sharks lying in wait for him. The only thing really necessary to remedy this condition is a change in point of view, and that change we have a right to expect, or, if it is not at once forthcoming, to demand. Employees must be courteous at all times. If an immigrant wantonly violates any law, he can be punished. Other-

wise, he has the same right to expect absolute courtesy and consideration in his trying position from a Government employee as has any citizen of the United States.

The other fault is, as I implied, more difficult to correct. The fault is that of acute congestion. Ellis Island was an ideal place for a port of entry in the days when it was first established as such. To-day, however, it is too small to care for the body of immigration which passes through it. Even during normal times some of the detention rooms are badly overcrowded, and time and again the hospital accommodations have proved inadequate. In some of the detention rooms there is not space to sit down; in the hospital there are not always enough beds. This is not always so, but it is so often enough to make it constitute a grave flaw. On what was known as a "slack day" I have seen the women in a detention room standing packed together, many with babies at their breasts, ready to faint from weakness and fatigue. They could not sit; they had nowhere to rest their babies. And all in amongst them ran a little man with a fixed and beaming smile and an armful of tracts. He would stick a tract wherever it would hold, sometimes between the mother and the child in her arms. Rest there was none; help there was none; there were only tracts. That was their welcome. Of course the little man and his little tracts were not a part of the congestion, but they were a result of it in a sense. It is difficult to treat people other than as cattle when conditions are such that they are herded as cattle. If this congestion were relieved it would go a long way toward remedying fault number one. It makes the situation as frenziedly difficult for the immigration officials as it does impos-

sible for the immigrants themselves. But this congestion can finally be relieved only by legislation; Congress must appropriate money for more space and more buildings. And, as the British "Tommies" used to say in 1918, "Wot 'opes!" As it stands at present, however, it is not too much to say that a more active coöperation on the part of some steamship companies might help matters.

Aside, however, from specific conditions and remedies, what can be set down as a broad and general outline for the care of immigrants from the point of initial departure to that of ultimate destination? Parenthetically I may observe that I am assuming the realization on the part of the reader that the welfare of our immigrants is a matter which vitally concerns the welfare of our country as a whole, and not something that begins and ends with the immigrant himself. We realize to-day the essential importance of pre-natal infancy regulations. It is hardly less important that our future citizens receive intelligent and sympathetic attention in their pre-natal state.

There are four steps in the journey of the immigrant. First, from his home to the port of departure; second, in transit across the sea; third, at the port of entry or arrival; fourth, from the port of entry to his destination in the United States. Properly conceived, it should be our endeavor to touch the immigrant at all of these four points, preparing him for each as he reaches it until finally, at his place of residence in this country, he will be in a position to take the next step of beginning to function as a part of the community life about him, and so from there to the national life or citizenship.

The service necessary to the immigrant consists actually in seeing that he is provided with such concrete information on matters pertaining to his welfare that he is able to look after himself. At present he is obliged either to proceed blindly or to trust sources which are themselves uninformed or sometimes untrustworthy.

II

Prior to his arrival in the United States—that is, through the first two stages of his journey—it would seem feasible to distribute the information necessary to immigrants somewhat as follows: Government information on the immigration laws of the United States, on all immigration requirements, on necessary procedure at the ports of entry, and on all other laws and regulations affecting the immigrant could be sent regularly to the foreign press for publication; and these releases could at the same time be sent to all foreign social agencies and organizations and to the offices of consuls. Provided the information were adequate (and there is no reason why it should not be), this would pretty well cover the ground up to the time of sailing. All steamship companies should be provided with a supply of the same informational material, to be distributed to the immigrants in transit. This information should be only of a governmental and official character, giving fully and explicitly the laws and regulations governing immigration and affecting the arrival of the foreigner, but in no event containing any comment whatsoever on the advisability or inadvisability of coming to America, of locating in any particular portion of the country, or of conditions here, either

social, political, or industrial. It is of vital consequence that not the slightest propaganda creep into this work. If official information of this type were available to emigrants from foreign countries before they sailed, innumerable non-admissible cases would be prevented entirely from coming, and the heavy deportation problems at the ports of entry, along with the congestion these entail, would be greatly minimized. Incidentally, it would save many immigrants untold suffering. Likewise, those who are admissible would learn either before sailing or on shipboard the procedure and requirements of the ports of entry, and thus the work of inspection at these ports would be greatly facilitated and hastened. Again, the immigrant would be saved much very real agony. This does not sound difficult, and indeed it is not, yet it would go quite a way toward clearing up the whole situation.

Then at the ports of entry themselves. That is a little more complicated perhaps, but by no means of insuperable difficulty. At the ports of entry immigrants fall into three classes: Those who pass the inspectors and are allowed to enter; those who are temporarily detained; and those detained for deportation.

Immigrants who are temporarily detained suffer endless and needless mental anxiety through their entire ignorance of what is happening to them and why. Their relatives or friends may have failed to meet them; they may have no idea how to communicate with these relatives and friends, and there may well be difficulties about their transportation to their final destination in this country. Shyster lawyers and crooks of various kinds are quick to take advantage

of this ignorance and consequent panic, and to extort large sums from the immigrants or their relatives, or from both, for what is usually worthless "legal" advice.

In like manner those immigrants who comprise the admissible class lack equally with the others any knowledge of the immigration laws, of immigration inspection procedure, and of those laws and opportunities of the country which affect them most nearly. In leaving Ellis Island these immigrants are subject to endless exploitation from various agencies—rooming-house keepers, money changers, ticket agents, private bankers, labor speculators, and others. The most exorbitant prices are charged for the most trivial servces, such as directing or conducting them to various places, writing to relatives, or taking them to trains. These immigrants have no knowledge of where to apply for disinterested assistance or information; their experience with this country becomes, immediately upon entering it, one of being cheated, given bad counsel, preyed upon, and left in hopeless loneliness and isolation.

This last group, the admissible immigrants, is by far the largest, and the service to be rendered them would probably outline itself much as follows. They should be given explicit information on all matters of immediate concern, such as transportation, exchange of money, locating relatives, and any other individual problems more or less necessarily attendant upon their arrival and entry. Some of these immigrants will have transportation to a definite place, and for them the information service on immediate problems would not be heavily burdened. Others, however, whose

relatives have not met them, or who are in further need of help with transportation, temporary rooming places, or what-not, should be given whatever advice or assistance is necessary for their welfare. Further than this, information in the form of leaflets on the laws of this country, its opportunities (citizenship, health, education, land) should be furnished all incoming immigrants. Here again the danger of propaganda would have to be guarded against, and the information would have to be strictly governmental in character.

For the immigrants who are temporarily detained, the service should consist largely in helping to locate relatives, in handling or in referring to the proper agency the particular problems of individuals, and in seeing that the immigrant is fully and explicitly informed of his position, his rights and obligations under the law, and in helping him obtain, if necessary, proper legal counsel.

For those held for deportation little can be done except to see again that these are fully and explicitly informed of their legal rights and obligations, to help them engage proper counsel, if necessary, and to make sure that opportunity for appeal to Washington be given them.

So far as the ports of entry are concerned, that is about as far as we can hope to go at present. It is not a difficult step, but it is a long one in that it is miles ahead of the present condition prevailing. Such service would enormously relieve both the immigration officials and the immigrants themselves. It would give them a clean start and a clear focus on their new life, and in this way would be of inestimable value not

only to themselves, but likewise to the country of which one day they may become an integral portion. It makes a lot of difference in the long run whether an immigrant gets a right start or a wrong one. If the country itself starts him wrong and he turns out badly, surely it is the country that is at least in part to blame.

The last step in the immigrant's journey, from the port of entry to his ultimate destination, requires very much the same treatment as the others. And right here it should be remarked that fully 95 per cent of the immigrants arriving in America know exactly where they are going to go first. They have relatives or friends in one part of the country or another, and they have come here with this objective point well in mind. That is one of the prime reasons why a forced economic distribution could not succeed, even though it deserved to—which it doesn't.

Once past the inspection and admitted, his money changed, his transportation seen to, his relatives notified, if they have not already met him, and any further difficulties cleared away, the immigrant is ready to proceed. The Ellis Island officials should then notify their representatives at the point of destination of the number, the nationality, and, if possible, the names of those who will arrive, in order that local follow-up work may be facilitated. On his arrival the immigrant should be furnished with leaflets, giving official governmental information on citizenship, health, education, farming, and like matters of material concern, and at the same time he must be supplied with data in his own language, as indeed all this information must be, on local matters, such as housing, health, fire reg-

ulations, schools, medical assistance, and recreational and cultural opportunities. In this way, and only in this way, will the immigrant be given a fair chance from the outset of taking his place in the community life and of functioning normally with it. In this work the foreign-language societies, organizations, churches, and individual leaders must be invited to coöperate. They understand the needs of their people as does no one else. Indeed the active coöperation of these elements is of imperative necessity. There must be no thought that they will help to isolate their countrymen from American life. In fact, they afford the essential stepping-stone by means of which the gap between the old world and the new may be bridged. Without them, there will be endless misunderstanding and consequent trouble; with them, there is at least double the chance of success.

And here it seems as if the work of the Bureau of Immigration must cease, if indeed it ever gets so far. From here on it will be up to the Division of Citizenship, the Bureau of Education, and local agencies to see that the work once started does not end and the immigrant sink back into isolation. In all this work, through every stage of it, there will be a constant fight to keep the propagandists at arm's length. The anti-radicals, and indeed the radicals themselves, the industrial interests, the political and the religious interests—all these and more will try their turn at making the immigrant serve their private ends. If they are permitted to get a foothold, then good-bye to constructive endeavor. What the immigrant needs is information—information in his own language; information without bias; information that is complete

and that is easily understandable, that touches every phase of his life in this country, and that adequately covers every phase. It is by no manner of means impossible. Indeed, a year from now it might well be in working order.

January, 1922.

XIV

SUMMARY

THAT many passages in these studies will seem dogmatic I have no doubt, unfortunate as it may be to have them so, but I desire to be acquitted not only of any intention to dogmatize, but still more of any wish on my part to be pedantic. It is often necessary to restate old dogmas, but for the pedant there is no excuse. Therefore, if my manner ever appears to the reader to be that of the schoolroom or the lecture platform, I beg to proffer my most sincere apologies in advance, or not, as the case may be. Occasionally, in the effort to be lucid one is merely trite, and in the desire to be forceful, a certain nagging or scolding quality is observed. These things are to be regretted, and, I hope, to be pardoned likewise.

It should be clear by this time what Americanization is and is not. It is not negative; that is, it is not Anti anything. It must be positive and constructive, if it is to exist at all. It is a much more vital and fundamental matter than any popular foible of the moment. It is not a matter of creed or of party. It has no connection with those strange and ill-defined terms "radical" and "conservative." Americanism in the pure, traditional, historic sense is more apt to be considered radical than conservative to-day. So far as the intrinsic value of such Americanism is concerned, this means nothing. Literally, I have no doubt but that Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and others

of our early patriots would be incarcerated in jail, probably held *incommunicado*, if they were now alive. Within the last ten years men have been arrested for distributing the Declaration of Independence on the streets of New York. Certainly this puts the person interested in Americanization in something of a predicament. How is he to reconcile this with what he is supposed to teach? Or, must he teach something different? Is it to be rather a question of expediency than of principle with him? Many have succumbed, and in their effort to satisfy everyone have satisfied no one. They have become hopelessly entangled in the mesh of their own sophistries. That pseudo-Americanism from which the country is suffering to-day is only a by-product of the times. The Americanism upon which this nation was builded is the only soil in which our democracy can take root and flourish. To deny it, to abrogate it, is to uproot the tree.

There is no royal road to Americanization. It is not simply a matter of learning English or of becoming naturalized. These things are only milestones on the road; they are not the goal itself. Certainly they are not the end; hardly even are they the means to the end. For Americanism is not a thing; it is not a matter of material expression. It is a point of view, an attitude of mind. The whole problem of Americanization is to define this point of view, and to so deal with the immigrant that once it is defined he can attain it if he chooses. It cannot be forced upon him. If he once clearly understands the mental and spiritual attitude which in its time begat America, and still does not believe in it wholly and sincerely, that is his privilege. It may be his misfortune and it may be ours, but it is not for us

to criticize. Far better a sincere alien than a half-convinced American.

Americanism cannot be taught; it must be experienced. Who is there in this country to-day so bold as to say to the foreign born "*I* will teach you to be an American"? Unfortunately there are many who have the temerity to assume this role, but the foreign born have already learned that most of them are false prophets. To learn Americanism the immigrant must become, so far as it is possible for him, an active part of America. This does not mean simply that he must be naturalized. There are far too many natives of this country whose only virtue lies in the fact that they were born here. The wedding ceremony is merely incidental to the fact of marriage; it is only a ritual which symbolizes a certain point of view, a definite attitude of mind, without which it is not a sacrament but a sacrilege. It is the same with naturalization. Is a wife more important than a nation, or marriage than citizenship? And to carry the parallel still further, before marriage it is necessary that mutual trust, sympathy, and agreement be realized by both parties. They must understand each other, and therefore they must speak the same language. The language is important only as a means to an end; it has no significance in itself. All these things are as true of citizenship as they are of marriage. The same primary elements characterize both—emotion, intellect, and sentiment. I do not by any means intend to point to marriage as it exists to-day as an ideal state, but surely allegiance to an individual is no more important than allegiance to a nation. The cry in the old days of chivalry was "For God, for Country, and for my

Lady." To-day one cannot but gather the impression, however exaggerated it may be, that one is loyal to God once a week, to the Country once in four years, and to one's Lady merely on occasion. But I fear this is frivolous. The fact I wish to point out is only that citizenship is actually no less sacred than marriage, and, it is to be feared, no more so.

The native-born citizen of the United States, or of any other country, is partially restricted by natural handicaps from that complete realization of his citizenship which is so essential to the welfare of the nation. That is, his natural, inevitable tendency is to take everything for granted. He finds that if he goes about his personal business, his political affairs are taken care of for him. He becomes politically selfish and lazy, and when he is awakened to the sad results of his neglect he is apt to be merely cynical. It is immesely difficult for him to maintain an objective point of view on the situation and an attitude uncolored by personal aims and ambitions. He takes his opinions from the newspapers not because he considers the press a particularly reliable source of information, but simply because he is too selfish and too lazy to make the effort to find out the truth for himself. The result of all this is highly disastrous. Citizenship becomes a matter of mechanics. It is natural, therefore, that the native-born citizen should wish to run the immigrant through the machine. Make him a legal citizen and forget him again. Force him to conform to the popular trend, and he can be dealt with as the rest are. The swine of Circe were made exceedingly uncomfortable by being reminded that actually they ought to be men. They would have suffered far less

had they been permitted to retain the mental attitude of swine. That is the case with us in America to-day.

We intensely resent being reminded of the fact that politically we are swine. The immigrant was not born a citizen; he cannot take his citizenship for granted. He desires, if he desires at all, to become a citizen for certain definite reasons—because our system of government appeals to him; because we offer him certain advantages political, social, or industrial which he has not had. His point of view is entirely objective. Actually, that is where the clash comes. The immigrant is more intelligent about his citizenship than the native born is about his. The native born has let the reins of government slip from his hands, and he is, for the most part, content to accept the consequences, rather than rouse from the pleasant apathy into which he has fallen. He has been cheated of his birthright, but he does not want to have to realize it for fear that he will be forced to bestir himself. The potential citizen, the immigrant, sees that these things are so, and because his desire for citizenship rests largely on those very rights which the native born has abrogated through sheer inertia, he protests, he makes an effort to recapture that democratic ideal which we have not had the moral stamina to keep intact. Not unnaturally we resent this; we do not desire to be roused to action. Likewise, it is humiliating to have foreigners point out to us our political duty. In our resentment we attack the foreigner, because by so doing we alleviate the suffering engendered by our hurt pride; we permit a resumption of our drugged sleep which is so dear to us, and we obey the suggestions of those to whose interest it is to have us continue to slumber. The American likes formula. It saves him mental effort.

He worships catchwords and phrases. They save him from trying to think. If an unusual idea is presented to him clothed in the familiar garments of his favorite jargon, he accepts the idea readily, because the familiarity of the clothing reassures him, and the fact that the idea is unusual leads him to believe that he is original, a superstition which is intensely dear to him.

The immigrant comes to America with some knowledge of a fundamental set of political, social, and economic principles which he has been taught to believe, perhaps for generations, represent American democracy. That, for the most part, is his stock in trade as a future citizen. The laws, conventions, usages, and traditions of the country are usually strange to him, as is its language. What he needs is not preventive propaganda. It is information. He must be educated, but his education must consist in informing him on facts, not in that proselyting process which proceeds from bias, either political, social, or industrial. He must be given the facts upon which he can form his opinions; there must be no attempt to form his opinions for him. The path must be cleared for him into the community life of America; he must not be dragged in forcibly to occupy the position of a stranger. His initial lack of information will often lead him into trouble. He must be helped out of his difficulties and matters explained, so that he will be able to care for himself when the occasion again arises. His ignorance will permit him to be preyed upon systematically. This ignorance must be cleared away, but at the same time, those who prey upon him must be cleared away likewise. In short, the immigrant must be regarded not as a Problem, nor as mere Man Power, nor as a "Wop," "Hunkie," "Dago," "Polak," or what-not,

but as a human being like other human beings, except for the fact that he has had the mental and moral vitality to want something enough to give up his home and travel some thousands of miles to get it. This spirit was that which brought this nation into being, and it is one to be encouraged. The ignorance of the immigrant is his handicap. This ignorance is not mental incapacity, but simply lack of definite information. He must be informed and, furthermore, he must be given the opportunity to inform himself. If he seems stupid to us sometimes, it is far more likely to be because we are impatient, because his entire psychological background is so different from ours, than because his stupidity is actual. At least he should have the benefit of the doubt. Once his ignorance is removed, once he is informed as we are, once he is given the opportunity to expand and develop in the American atmosphere, he will then become a part of American life and will function as an integral portion of it. It will make its many contributions to him, but he will have much to contribute likewise. It is a process of mutuality. The native born and the foreign born must each contribute their share, and from the two America will be reborn, restrengthened, and renewed eternally. Both must share, both must give, and there can be neither scorn nor distrust between them. This condition may seem ideal, but in any event it is entirely practicable, and in all events it is inevitable if this nation is ever to exist as a unified whole.

As for naturalization, citizenship papers, they are only important as a symbol of the spirit behind him who gives and him who receives. Make that spirit live as once it lived in America, and it will need no paper to bear it witness.

On Foreigners

I wonder what will happen to this land
of liberty,
When the Dago grabs his baggage and
returns to Italy;
When the Teuton takes the trouble to
recross the river Rhine,
And the Sheeny picks up business and
removes to Palestine.
I wonder what will happen when the
Swede, the Finn, the Pole,
And a dozen other races will no longer
dig our coal;
When the Russian sails to Russia to
rejoin the Bolsheviks,
And old Patrick leaves for Ireland, in
spite of politics;
And the Greaser goes to Mexico, the
swarthy Greek to Greece.
(I wonder whom our profiteers will pick
upon to fleece.)
I wonder whom our loyal sons will
graciously torment
When the Nigger makes in Africa a
Nigger government;
When the Chink's again in China, and
the Jap is put to rout,
And all the "bloomin' furriners" will
once for all "git out."

ABRAHAM SHIFFRIN.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX "A"

I have felt that it would be of distinct value to the reader if I were able to instance a concrete example of successful Americanization work carried through on a national scale. So far as I know, there is only one such example to give, and that is the Foreign Language Information Service. There are other national organizations engaged in Americanization, but with them, either their work with the immigrant is incidental to their larger purpose, or, as I have indicated in Chapters X and XI, their purpose itself is open to question. The Foreign Language Information Service occupies literally a unique position, acting as it does as a liaison between the Federal Government and the foreign born of America. What it does, how, and why it does it, are questions which will all be answered in its own statement, an abridged version of which I have appended herewith. Neither the motives underlying the work of this Service or the extraordinary success of the work itself have ever seriously been called into question.

The Foreign Language Information Service does not by any means solve the problem of Americanization. It indicates a method of approach and points out the path of practicability. The press work, the individual service work the interpretative work the foreign contacts, the work with foreign-language organizations, the educational work, the direct naturalization field, all these are, relatively speaking, hardly more than touched upon by this Service, and each one of these sections of activity is in itself capable of immense expansion and development.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PAMPHLET ENTITLED

"THE WORK OF THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE INFORMATION SERVICE: A SUMMARY AND SURVEY"

FEBRUARY, 1920, TO MAY, 1921

"To interpret America to the Immigrant and the Immigrant to America."

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THE NEED FOR THE SERVICE

There are about fourteen million foreign born in the United States. While there are no exact figures, an estimate, based on the best available sources of information, indicates that at least three million of these cannot understand or speak English, while another three million cannot read it.

These millions have come here chiefly because of their belief in the ideals of freedom and equal opportunity which brought this nation into being, and which will always be in themselves the first element of Americanism. The newcomers arrive unequipped with that concrete and specific information which is a prime necessity for them if they are to be able to cope with conditions with which they are unacquainted and adjust themselves normally to their new life. Frequently they are not only uninformed, but even misinformed, concerning laws, regulations, and customs, their own rights and their own obligations.

During the greater part of the past thirty years these constantly increasing numbers of foreign born have been ignored or looked upon with suspicion and prejudice by the native born.

That they have "assimilated" at all must be credited to their own struggles to learn about the country and to become part of it.

In recent years have come the "Americanizers." They have discovered that the immigrant is a problem, and have maintained that something must be done to him to lessen this problematical quality with which they have gratuitously endowed him. He must be "Americanized." The very term repudiates any recognition of the immigrant's own efforts to become an American. It insists that the immigrant conform, take on a sameness of customs and manners, rather than that he participate with the native born in a common purpose of effecting national unity and progress.

Assimilation cannot be forced on the immigrant. The process must be a natural growth from within himself. If it is to be constructive and lasting, the native born's part in the process must consist in aiding the immigrant's own efforts to become identified with the life of the country.

He must have at his disposal an information service free from all taint of propaganda, explaining the laws and opportunities of the country and his own responsibilities and rights under the Government. He cannot

wait for this knowledge until he has mastered the language of the country. It must therefore be given him in his native language, for the reason that he cannot otherwise be reached. This service must include information for the individual immigrant and adjustment of his particular difficulties in matters of government concern. His experiences in American life must square with the American sense of fair play in so far as it is in the power of an agency or organization to make them do so.

The prejudices of the native born toward the immigrant, their ignorance of his contributions and needs, must be overcome, for they constitute a serious barrier to assimilation.

The Purpose of the Service

The Foreign Language Information Service takes this first all-important step in constructive assimilation. It informs the foreign-speaking peoples in their native tongue about the government and laws of the country; it clears up their misconceptions and adjusts their individual difficulties, especially in matters with which Government departments are concerned. It tells what the Government expects of them and what it offers them. It also gives the native born accurate information on the foreign-born groups and the conditions affecting them in the effort to create mutual understanding.

The Foreign Language Information Service is strictly and literally non-partisan. Its basic principle is the complete elimination from its work of propaganda of any kind, religious, political, industrial, or social. Facts and data from official sources are given; never deductions or opinions offered on them. Thus, while it makes every effort to place at the disposal of the immigrant all the official data necessary for him to make up his mind on the vital question of citizenship and, providing his decision is in the affirmative, assists him in every way to accomplish his purpose, it never endeavors to stimulate artificially the desire itself.

APPENDIX A

The Foreign Language Information Service endeavors, through the use of accurate information, to overcome those prejudices and misunderstandings which stand in the way of the immigrant's becoming an integral part of the national life, whether such prejudice and misunderstanding lie with the native or the foreign born. There can be no team-work coupled with antagonism.

Understanding means sympathy, and sympathy begets unity. It is to this belief that the Foreign Language Information Service is dedicated.

How the Service Works

The Foreign Language Information Service gives the immigrant the information and service he needs through the three principal mediums of immigrant contact, the foreign-language press, foreign-language organizations, and individual service work.

Fifteen foreign-language sections pour into their press a mass of informative data, largely from government sources, which tends to bring the immigrant reader in close touch with the Federal Government. Through the foreign-language organizations a certain portion of the immigrant population, which may not have been touched by the first outlet, is reached with similar information. The individual service work comes chiefly as a logical and inevitable result of the work along these other lines. These three channels or phases of the Service are more fully discussed elsewhere in this summary.

The work of interpreting the alien to America is done chiefly through the American Press Section, which sends out to the native American press translations of editorials from foreign-language papers and also brief items and longer articles on the foreign born. This branch of the Service is, like the others, entirely clear of propaganda. It deals with facts and existing conditions, not with theories or opinions.

Government Coöperation

Seventy-three Government departments, commissions, bureaus, and divisions coöperate with the Foreign Language Information Service in its various lines of work.

Under the headings Press Work and Individual Service the intimate relation and coöperation the Foreign Language Information Service maintains with Government departments is given in detail. Two points should be noted:

1. Government departments and bureaus are, without exception, willing and anxious to furnish both general and specific information and assistance to the Foreign Language Information Service.

2. Many Government departments are calling directly upon the Foreign Language Information Service for its specialized assistance in their own work.

From the time the War Department called upon the Service to carry its draft measure to the foreign born up to the present time, when the Alien Property Custodian is seeking the coöperation of the Service in adjusting the highly difficult and technical problems of that office, there has come a steadily increasing use of the Service by Government agencies.

The following example may be cited: The Bureau of Internal Revenue requested the Foreign Language Information Service thoroughly to inform the foreign born on the complicated income tax proceedings. The Service in four months issued 172 Internal Revenue releases, which gave full information on the income tax as applied to aliens, and which were printed in all the foreign-language papers on its lists. In addition, sixteen circular letters on the income tax were sent to 4,500 of the largest foreign-language societies, and the managers of the foreign-language sections explained the

income tax law at 127 meetings of their groups in various foreign-language centers.

A very serious and widespread situation of wrong classification of the foreign born was found to exist. Also mistakes were made in taxing them, and lack of information on the part of local administrators of the income tax law was a prevalent condition. The Foreign Language Information Service presented to the Bureau of Internal Revenue, at its request, full reports and recommendations on these matters.

Acting on the recommendations of the Service, a revision of treasury decisions and forms of refund applications was made by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Affidavits were also obtained from consuls or other acceptable agents by the Foreign Language Information Service establishing the income tax situation in foreign countries. As a result, the Bureau of Internal Revenue was able to fix correctly the status of aliens from these countries in the United States. The situation in regard to Lithuanians is one case in point.

In April, 1920, it came to the notice of the Service that Lithuanians throughout the country were not being granted the exemption due them by law, either as subjects of the former Russian Empire or as citizens of Lithuania. This, in spite of the fact that both Russia and the new Lithuanian government satisfied the credit requirements of the United States. Lithuanians appearing before local collectors and claiming exemption *as Lithuanians* were told that the State Department had not recognized Lithuania, and therefore such exemption could not be granted. This misunderstanding was due to confusion regarding the status of Lithuania. The Service at once called the attention of the Collector of Internal Revenue to this fact. The Commissioner suggested that a statement be secured from the Lithuanian Commission (the official representative of Lithuania in this country), declaring that "similar credit" was granted in Lithuania to American citizens. This statement was immediately secured and sent to the Collector of Internal Revenue.

On May 27, 1920, the Service wired the Commissioner as follows: "Hundreds of Lithuanians besieging us regarding status. Is it possible to put through decision soon?" An answer was received by wire the same day, stating that the decision had gone through. This was followed by a letter from the Commissioner in which he stated that "citizens of Lithuania are entitled to the personal exemption and credit for dependents, inasmuch as Lithuania satisfied the similar credit requirement." Not only was the decision put through in less than two weeks, but the local collectors were informed by wire to grant legal exemption to Lithuanians.

The Bureau of Internal Revenue then asked the Service for further suggestions as to revisions in forms and definitions affecting aliens. In accordance with this, the executives of the Service held several conferences with the Solicitor of Internal Revenue and his assistants, and drew up a series of recommendations which should define more clearly and more justly the status of resident and non-resident aliens. Using these recommendations as a basis, the Solicitor drew up amendments to Articles 312 and 315 of Regulation 45. These amendments, endorsed by this Service, were submitted for ratification to the Commissioner. In April, 1921, the new amendments were put through and released without further modification as Treasury Decision 3155.

It should also be noted that the Departments of State, War, Treasury, Labor, Interior, and the Bureaus of War Risk Insurance, War Loan Organization, Immigration, Naturalization, the Children's Bureau, the Woman's Bureau, and the Alien Property Custodian have at various times directly asked the help and the active coöperation of the Foreign Language Information Service.

APPENDIX A

Press Work

I

Prior to the war the foreign-language press of the United States derived the major portion of its news from reprinted matter taken from the native American press and from special material furnished by correspondents in the various mother countries of Europe. The foreign-language publications could not afford to maintain press representatives in Washington, and thus that intimate contact with the workings of the Federal Government, which comes to the native-born reader as a matter of course, was lost to the immigrant population. The enormous amount of routine press material which goes out daily from the Government departments and bureaus went to the foreign-language press when they requested it as to the native, but naturally it was released in English and the added cost of translation, coupled with the time and labor involved, made the use of this data by the great mass of foreign-language publications practically impossible.

This condition was not alleviated until the advent of the Foreign Language Information Service. With the formation of this Service the situation underwent a radical change. Now, for the first time, a medium of transmission was placed at the disposal of both the Federal Government and the foreign-language press. Government material flowed into the foreign-language sections of the Service, was edited (i. e., cut, but never changed), and translated with the particular needs of the foreign-language press and population in mind, and then was released again for use in the foreign-language publications.

The foreign-language press and its readers are now thoroughly in touch for the first time, through the medium of the Foreign Language Information Service, with all Government activities and rulings which are likely to affect them in any way. In addition to this, about 15 per cent of the material released, the other 85 per cent being governmental, comes from such

national organizations and agencies as have constructive data to offer. Not a line of propaganda, either direct or indirect, has ever been released through the Service.

II

The total foreign-born population of the United States is about 14,122,852. The total number of papers and periodicals in the foreign-language press of the United States is about 1,285, with a circulation estimated at about 10,000,000.

The total foreign-born population of the eighteen foreign-language groups covered by the Foreign Language Information Service is 9,179,853. The total number of papers and periodicals of these eighteen groups is 795, with a circulation estimated at 7,735,172.

It is this last press of 795 units with which we have to deal, and before taking up the question of the source of the material released to this press and its actual use, it may be enlightening to analyze the press itself from several different angles.

The table ("A") shows the distribution of this press by the fifteen sections of the Foreign Language Information Service There is shown, first, the number of papers on the mailing list of each section, and, second, the number of papers actually received by each section. This last item is important, because when we come to show *use* of material, our figures are naturally based only on those papers received, leaving a very considerable percentage to be accounted for which may or may not use the releases.

TABLE "A"

Section:	Publications	
	On Mailing List	Received
Czech	73	54
Danish	23	20
Dutch	23	14
Finnish	22	10
German	166	89
Hungarian	43	38

Italian	117	57
Jewish	26	21
Jugoslav	40	35
Lithuanian	21	16
Norwegian	46	35
Polish	74	59
Russian	19	12
Slovak	43	22
Swedish	44	24
Ukrainian	15	10
Total	795	516

An analysis by *Period of Publication* shows the following ("B").

TABLE "B"

Period of Publication:	Publications On Mailing List	Publications Received
Dailies	101	89
Tri-weeklies	12	11
Bi-weeklies	26	23
Weeklies	518	322
Bi-monthlies	31	18
Monthlies	106	53
Quarterlies	1	..
Total	795	516

An analysis by *Class of Publication* shows the following ("C"):

TABLE "C"

Class of Publication	Publications On Mailing List	Publications Received
Newspapers	543	372
Fraternal publications	86	58
Religious publications	78	39
Technical and trade journals	49	24
General magazines	39	23
Total	795	516

In considering these figures there are several primary factors which must be borne in mind. The press service rendered by the foreign-language Sections of this Service differs radically from the press service given by

the ordinary newspaper syndicate. Almost invariably the newspaper syndicate supplies only one type of paper; that is, its service goes to daily newspapers or to weekly newspapers, to religious periodicals, or to agricultural journals. Its scope is definitely limited; for if it were not it could not be operated except at a loss.

It will be observed that the field covered by these tabulations is inclusive of almost every type of paper published. The result is that what is acceptable to one is not acceptable to another; a weekly cannot use the type or the same amount of copy which will be acceptable to a daily, and a monthly is still more definitely limited. In like manner, the material usable by the ordinary newspaper may be useless to the religious press, while that fitted for publication in trade and class periodicals usually differs widely from any other specialized type of copy. It is obvious, then, that instead of being able to pursue a single straight line, it is necessary to radiate in such a manner as to cover the whole field.

A further factor in determining the use of material sent out by the foreign-language Sections is the various policies of the papers to which it goes. There is a small minority of papers of an extremely radical tendency which uses no copy sent out by the Service, and there are others, such as humorous publications, the columns of which are likewise closed to us. These papers all receive our material, however, because, in the first place, it serves to educate them along constructive lines, and, in the second, because as long as they receive our material they will keep us on their mailing list, and we will thus be able to keep in intimate touch with the reaction of the entire press.

It will be observed again that of the 795 papers on our mailing list only 516 are being received. This is explained by the fact that in some instances papers with a small free list have not been able to include us, and in others by disinclination to furnish free copies to anyone. It is worthy of note, however, that our file

of foreign-language papers is probably as large as any in the country. There are included in the 516 papers received a certain number which do not use our material for reasons of policy. On the other hand, we are constantly learning from seeing isolated copies that there is a use of our material in certain of the 279 papers on our list which we do not receive. It is, of course, impossible to include figures on these papers. Hence the percentage on the use of our material must necessarily be pulled down by the inclusion of papers that do not use our material, but which are received, and the necessary exclusion of papers that do use it and which are not received. It is necessary to note further that the 516 papers received come in many instances with great irregularity, the postal conditions not being conducive to a steady supply.

III

Especially during the two years since the War the foreign-language press has been under constant fire as being ultra-radical. Hence the following analysis may be of interest.

This analysis was made by taking at haphazard a group of 328 editorials from 86 papers of the foreign-language press and listing them in this manner:

Radical,	as equal to the	New York *Call*
Liberal,	" " " "	New York *World*
Conservative,	" " " "	New York *Times*
Reactionary,	" " " "	New York *Tribune*

These equations may be disputed, and they are certainly open to argument; but, taking them as a working basis, the results are startling.

It may likewise be argued that this analysis covers too small a field to be representative, but such is not actually the case. These 86 papers, with their 328 editorials, are distinctly representative of the foreign-language press in this country as a whole, and a more complete tabulation would only serve to bear this out.

Taking all 86 papers and all 328 editorials, we find

that, according to this method, 5% are reactionary, 41% conservative, 51% liberal, and 3% radical.

Next, taking the papers which are professedly Republican, there are 19 of these, with 66 editorials, we find that 6% are reactionary, 63% are conservative, 31% are liberal, and none are radical.

Next, those papers which profess to be Progressive or Independent—19, with 99 editorials. Of these 6% are reactionary, 26% are conservative, 67% are liberal, and 1% are radical.

Next, the 9 papers, with their 41 editorials, which profess to be Socialist. Of these none are reactionary, 10% are conservative, 88% are liberal, and 2% are radical.

Next, the 4 Communist papers, with their 20 editorials. Of these 60% are liberal, and 40% radical.

Finally, a group of 35 papers, with 102 editorials, which do not declare themselves, and which are hence unclassified. Of these 6% are reactionary, 58% are conservative, 35% are liberal, and 1% are radical.

Material for possible release to their press comes to the foreign-language Sections from various sources. About 85 per cent of it is from Federal Government departments and bureaus, 73 of which release matter continually through the Service. All these releases are edited by the Sections, who take whatever they consider is most needed by their press and send it out in translated form. The editing of this material consists in cutting and condensing; it is never actually changed in the smallest degree, and no editorial comment of any kind is attached to it. While the major portion of this material consists of regular bureau and departmental releases, on many occasions special stories and even series have been compiled for the use of the foreign-language press. The general procedure is as follows:

The directors and the Washington representative maintain contacts with the Government departments. The Government departments in turn send daily releases to the foreign-language Sections. The Wash-

ington representative obtains for the foreign-language Sections all Government reports, bulletins, and special data not on the regular mailing list and arranges with Government departments for articles especially desired by the foreign-language press. Particularly extensive coöperation has existed with the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the United States Public Health Service, the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the Naturalization Bureau, the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Immigration, and the Department of Agriculture.

The United States Public Health Service has requested the Service to aid it in running a question box in the foreign-language papers, and prepares also a special weekly article for the foreign-language press, released through the fifteen Sections. The Bureau of War Risk Insurance has also made a question box arrangement with the Foreign Language Information Service.

The Bureau of Naturalization has coöperated with the Service in compiling a pamphlet, "How to Become a Citizen," for release to the foreign-language press. An introduction to this pamphlet was written by the United States Director of Citizenship, and the whole was released through the fifteen Sections.

The Children's Bureau has prepared several special series for the use of the Service. The last series released consisted of a group of articles entitled "The Care of the Child."

These are only a few examples of the highly specialized press service rendered the foreign born which has been made possible by unusually close contact and coöperation with Government departments.

BY SOURCE

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES AND WORDS PUBLISHED BY THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS, FEBRUARY, 1920, TO MAY, 1921

	Articles	Words
Dept. of State	1,801	518,670
" " Treasury—Federal Reserve	29	9,471
" " " —Public Health	5,707	1,843,371
" " " —War Risk	459	152,053
" " " —Internal Revenue	716	310,857
" " " —Savings Division	979	196,301
" " " —Miscellaneous	364	89,400
" " War	1,351	364,965
" " Post Office	581	125,218
" " Interior	1,555	176,830
" " Agriculture	3,246	861,099
" " Commerce	1,649	352,927
" " Labor—Naturalization	183	41,314
" " " —Children's Bureau	1,477	443,794
" " " —Miscellaneous	437	212,882
American Red Cross	11,928	3,684,747
Council of National Defense	4,330	276,146
F. L. I. S.	1,538	742,996
Naturalization Pamphlet, F. L. I. S.	143	81,517
Miscellaneous	4,709	1,434,045
Total	43,182	12,218,603

BY LANGUAGE

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES AND WORDS PUBLISHED BY THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS, FEBRUARY, 1920, TO MAY, 1920

	Articles	Words
Czech	4,629	1,700,118
Slovak	1,632	561,034
Danish	1,643	495,989
Dutch	1,006	269,355
Finnish	1,902	586,066
German	6,903	1,723,819
Hungarian	6,037	685,524
Italian	5,064	2,061,561
Jewish	1,038	308,208
Jugoslav	1,616	558,085
Lithuanian	1,025	210,355
Norwegian	1,155	345,370
Polish	5,551	1,533,441
Russian	1,236	487,337
Swedish	1,556	413,363
Ukrainian	1,129	278,978
Total	43,182	12,218,603

12,218,603 words are equal to approximately 12,200 solid newspaper columns.

The 795 papers of the foreign-language press of the United States which are covered by the work of this Service use an average of *three-quarters of a million* words *per month* of the material released to them by the fifteen foreign-language Sections. An idea of the volume of this may be gathered from the fact that H. G. Wells's "Outline of History" contains only about half a million words, or 250,000 less than the amount of the releases of this Service printed by the foreign-language press every month. Further than this, a large number of the foreign-language papers feature this governmental material on their front pages, sometimes even to the exclusion of the ordinary news item, and in many cases it constitutes a considerable bulk of the matter of the issue.

Take, for example, the *New Yorkin Uutiset*, a Finnish New York daily. A recent issue of this paper contains more than 4,000 words of the Service releases, occupying the entire front page, and constituting in bulk 23 per cent of the entire news space of the paper. Again, an issue of the *Buffaloi Hirado*, a Buffalo, New York, Hungarian paper, gave 50 per cent of its entire news space to the Service's material. The *Sviet*, a Russian weekly of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, in one issue devotes over 32 per cent of its entire news space to eighteen of the Service's releases. A Czechoslovak paper of Chicago, *Slavie*, has 40 per cent of the front page of one issue given up to this material, and in another issue 28 per cent. With the other racial groups a similar ratio applies. Foreign Language Information Service releases occupy 28 per cent of the entire space on one issue of *Das Nordlichi*, a German paper in North Dakota; 22 per cent of *Ukraina*, a Chicago Ukrainian daily; 25 per cent of *Americos Lietuvis*, a Lithuanian paper in Worcester, Massachusetts; 14 per cent of the *Utah Posten*, a Swedish paper published in Salt Lake City; 18 per cent of *Zajednicar*, a Jugoslav paper of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; 11 per cent of

Zurnal, a Los Angeles, California, Jugoslav daily; 13 per cent of *De Hollandsche Amerikaan*, Dutch, Kalamazoo, Michigan, and 10 per cent of *Revyen*, a Danish daily published in Chicago.

These are only a few out of hundreds of such papers that might be similarly quoted, but they are representative of the use made by the foreign press as a whole of the Service's material, and they indicate a genuine desire to assist their foreign-speaking readers to a thorough and loyal understanding of America, her laws, and her customs.

Individual Service Work

From almost every state appeals come to the Foreign Language Information Service from those who cannot speak English, asking for help in adjusting their problems and difficulties in connection with the federal income tax law, the naturalization proceedings, war risk allotments, insurance and compensation, immigration, education, health, and numerous other matters falling under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. These cases are handled either directly by the managers of the foreign-language Sections or in consultation with one of the associate directors, who specializes on this phase of the work and who has frequent conferences with Government departments in Washington and is kept constantly informed by them of all changes in regulations and rulings affecting the foreign born. Cases requiring immediate action or personal presentation to Government officials are referred to the Washington representative of the Service.

The Foreign Language Information Service thus acts as a link between non-English-speaking people and the Government departments in adjusting these matters. The individual service developed after the first six months of information service to the foreign-language press and organizations. Editors of foreign-language papers and organization officers began to refer to the Service hundreds of foreign-born persons who constantly appealed to them for help, because they realized

that the Service could supply that highly specialized information needed in these cases. The quick and satisfactory results obtained by the Service in giving this information received widespread and enthusiastic commendation from the foreign-language papers, organizations, and individuals. Those who had been helped spread their story and sent their friends to the Foreign Language Information Service. Thus the foreign-born groups as a whole soon learned of this phase of the work and turned to the Service for a solution of their individual problems.

Within the last year the work of the Service in adjusting these particular problems with Government departments has become known to a number of American agencies, and they also have been referring many foreign-born persons to it.

During the fifteen-month period—February, 1920, to May, 1921—foreign-born persons have brought 23,449 problems to the Foreign Language Information Service. Twenty thousand six hundred and forty-six of these have been adjusted satisfactorily. The majority have been problems on income tax, passport regulations, on citizenship, war risk allotments, immigration, and emigration.

The individual service work naturally varies in that the peak is reached now in one phase and now in another. Thus, while for two years, 1919 and 1920, income tax problems preponderated, a period was gone through in the fall of 1920 and spring of 1921, when exploitation problems occupied most of the time of several of the foreign-language Sections. Foreign-born persons were cheated in every conceivable manner, and it is only during the last four months that there has been a lessening of this condition. There has been a steady increase during the fifteen-month period in both immigration and emigration problems. The difficulties of persons desiring to return to Europe and of those wishing to bring families and relatives to this side have been countless. Assistance from the Foreign Language Information Service in locating lost

relatives is being asked by more individuals each month. In April, 929 appeals of this sort came to the Service, twice as many as in the three previous months. This was due in part to the success the Service had had during the previous three months in finding over three hundred persons whose relatives had been vainly searching for them for over a year.

Three general characteristics may be cited in regard to individual service work:

First.—Many of the problems brought by individuals lead to other problems, each one of which is often as difficult to adjust as the original one. Frequently the work for a single individual continues for a year or eighteen months, and involves extensive conferences with four or five Government departments. The following is a typical instance:

The work of adjusting the allotment and naturalization problems of a Czech, Mr. Louis S——, of Nebraska, extended over eighteen months and involved the sending of four telegrams and the writing of seventy-two letters to Mr. S——, to the Bureau of War Risk, War Department, American Red Cross (Civilian Relief), Bureau of Naturalization, Department of Justice, Naturalization Examiner, individual teachers in Seward, clerk of District Court, Seward County, Nebraska, and Czechoslovak Legion Headquarters.

The original appeal from Mr. S—— came October 2, 1919. He had served for six months in the United States Army, and had carried war risk insurance for $10,000. He was discharged from the army on the technical ground that he was an enemy alien, because he was born in Czechoslovakia, a part of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. He wished to continue his insurance, but wanted it only for $1,000 instead of the original $10,000. Mr. S—— could not understand or speak English, so that all his correspondence with the War Risk Bureau was undertaken by the Czechoslovak Section. When the War Risk Bureau required his discharge paper, it was discovered that this was not

an "honorable" but the "blue" discharge given enemy aliens. Mr. S——, having performed his duty as a soldier, was under the impression that his discharge was an honorable one. The War Risk Bureau, however, refused to reinstate his insurance, on the ground that he was discharged as an enemy alien.

The Czechoslovak Section finally succeeded in obtaining from the Adjutant General a statement declaring that Mr. S—— was "erroneously discharged," and an honorable discharge was then given him. The case was again taken up with the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and Mr. S——'s insurance reinstated there, and his premium paid ahead.

Meantime Mr. S—— had appealed to the Foreign Language Information Service for instructions regarding the completion of his citizenship. This had been promised him in the army. The Czechoslovak Section recommended text-books on citizenship and English, and provided him with lessons on citizenship, and also found him public-school teachers who interested themselves in his endeavor to become a citizen. When the naturalization examiner visited that part of Nebraska where Mr. S—— lived, the latter successfully passed his examination and received his second papers, March 16, 1921.

The progress made by Mr. S—— in becoming an American is shown in his letters, the first of which were all in Czech, as he knew no other language, and the last of which is as follows, in the original English as he wrote it:

"————, NEBRASKA, MARCH 24, 1921.

"DEAR ——: I am letting you know that I received the letter from you. Was glad to hear from you, it is my duty to you, to thanking you very much for all the trouble with me. I got my citizenship paper on the 16th of March, at Seward, Nebraska, Seward County, and I am very glad to have it. But, dear, it was your work on it. Once more I thank you very much for all. I remain as ever yours,

"(Signed) LOUIS A. S——.

"P. S.—Write me again. Please write in English to me."

Second.—Many cases which the Foreign Language Information Service successfully adjusts come to it as to a court of last resort. The applicants have tried other agencies and means of solving their difficulties without results, and bring to the Service a long and complicated record of misfortune, injustice, and misunderstanding. The following case from the Lithuanian Section illustrates this point:

A Lithuanian ex-soldier had, without success, applied for redress to Congressmen, Senators and numerous agencies, and was on the point of giving up hope when he was urged by friends to apply to the Foreign Language Information Service. In his letter he states:

"I made an allotment in my mother's name. . . . Being the eldest son and head of our family, . . . I have practically supported and do now help my brothers and sisters. . . . . In making my application for allotment, I signed under Class "A," with government allowance. The War Department denies that I made this application. This is a careless falsehood, the worst I ever heard. I heard many times from other soldiers that foreigners in the American Army make a mistake to expect a square deal. I did not believe it. I am convinced now, . . . because . . . when I was a member of the —— Co., Lieut. —— said to those who applied for allotment Class "A:" 'To hell with all you foreigners! You must be satisfied if your folks get $15 a month.' This meant to me that America was willing that I should shed my blood, but my signature to a document that I was legally entitled to meant nothing. . . . My mother died Nov. 11, 1917, from worry and starvation. . . . This allotment might have saved her. Not one member of my family ever received a cent. They have all suffered. . . . The United States War Department owes me for this allotment from Nov. 1, 1917, to Sept. 25, 1919—approximately $342.50. . . . I left the U. S. Feb. 27, 1918. I was transferred to the now famous 9th U. S. Infantry. . . . I fought at the front from April 21, 1918, until July 18, 1918. On that day one of the worst battles of American history took place, and I was wounded. . . . I was in the hospital from July 20 to Sept. 4, 1918. . . . Early in November, 1918, I . . . became a citizen of the United States; . . . at least I thought I became a citizen, . . . but to this date I have not received my certificate. . . . March 25, 1919, I was transferred to the American Commission to the Peace Conference, and I was attached as an interpreter to the Baltic Mission. . . . During all the time that I served on the Baltic Mission

I did not receive a cent salary. I signed no pay-roll or vouchers. No one asked me to, and no one offered to pay me. . . . I had to live on my own money, which I was forced to borrow in Europe, in order that I might take care of the necessary expenses in the execution of my duty. My commanding officer told me at Camp —— before I was discharged that I would be paid some money, in order that I might buy some clothes, so that I would not be a pauper. I was paid nothing. . . . Even though I was a foreigner, before I was discharged and when in uniform, the populace referred to me as 'Our Boy', and called me '100% American.' . . . The striped flag of the United States is beautiful, and my record will show how highly I prize it. The red that is in it makes me think of my own blood which I shed for it in France. This I actually feel, and in this I take great pride. The only regret I feel is that this flag and what it stands for is so disregarded and dragged through the mud by so many narrow-minded, petty politicians, profiteers, and so-called searchers for the 100% American. . . .

"I was greatly surprised when I was asked to sign the last pay-roll, where it was noted that I had received $60.00 bonus, traveling ticket, and that I had been paid $87.50 up to Sept. 25th. I refused to sign this, and explained that I had received nothing. I had not been paid for March, April, May, June, July, and August. I was informed that I must sign. As for the rest, I was to leave that for future adjustment, and would be governed by my service record. When they showed me the service record I found that my name had been signed thereto. The names of the lieutenant of the —— and the lieutenant of the ——, who was supposed to be paymaster, appear on the service record. You can find the name of the person who signed for me in the War Department. Someone signed for me, and I was supposed to have received the money up to and including August 1, 1919. Now this cannot possibly be true. I never signed these things, and the signatures are nothing but base forgeries. No one was empowered by me to sign the pay-roll when I was absent on special duty."

The man adds a detailed statement of all money owing to him, almost $500. In addition, he had paid for a $50 Liberty Bond, and carried a $10,000 insurance policy. The bond was never received and the insurance had been allowed to lapse, because

"my beneficiaries might be treated the same as my mother, my brothers, and sisters were treated. Finally, my right arm, if I may use a vulgarism, is 'on the bum.' It has not the strength that it had formerly. . . . When I left for France I was advised that if anything happened to me I would be looked after."

The entire letter, over five typewritten pages, was translated and sent to the office of the Director of Finance, War Department, and the Director of War Risk Insurance. A few days later a representative from the Foreign Language Information Service took up the case personally with officials in the Bureau of War Risk and the War Department. The letter had meantime been referred to numerous Government officials, practically all of whom had looked up the records and were engaged in ascertaining the facts. The Liberty Bond was immediately delivered, the lapsed insurance was reinstated, proper compensation blanks were made out, and indemnity bonds executed. The ex-soldier was reimbursed for lost and missent checks. He received back pay and allowance, and within about three weeks received from the Government every cent that was owing him.

The following service rendered a Jugoslav illustrates the complexities of the situation with the Alien Property Custodian:

In 1913 Michael Y—— deposited in the First National Bank of Chicago the sum of $38,843.10. Immediately after he left for Europe and was unable to return as he had planned. On October 30, 1918, the Alien Property Custodian requested the bank to turn over the money deposited in the name of Mr. Y——. In May, 1920, Mr. Y—— reached this country and tried to draw his money from the bank. He was informed that the money had been taken over by the Alien Property Custodian, and was advised to take up the matter of refund with the Custodian direct. On August 9th of the same year Mr. Y—— appealed to the Jugoslav Section for assistance. The Section immediately referred the matter to the Alien Property Custodian. A few days later it was learned that many similar cases involving Jugoslav subjects had been placed in the hands of the Legation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in Washington. The Section Manager applied to the Legation to find out whether Mr. Y——'s claim had been filed with

the Custodian. The Legation stated that the proposed reciprocity agreement between the Jugoslav and American Governments regarding the payment of claims had been sent to Belgrade for ratification, but as the agreement had not yet been signed, no further action could be taken. On August 23d the Alien Property Custodian reported to the Jugoslav Section that Mr. Y—— must furnish a certificate from his government establishing his citizenship as a Jugoslav subject. The same day the Legation was requested by wire to furnish the Custodian with a citizenship certificate for Mr. Y——. Meantime, having received no further word from the Legation, a photographic copy of Mr. Y——'s passport was sent the Custodian. The following day word was received from the Custodian that no action could be taken until the reciprocity agreement was signed. On September 1st the Manager of the Jugoslav Section conferred personally with an official in the office of the Custodian and with the Jugoslav Minister. The Minister declared that he had urged his government to ratify the agreement, but as yet no answer had been received. On September 15th the Jugoslav Section cabled the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade, urging that the agreement be signed. On October 2d the Legation was again asked regarding the agreement. Two weeks later Mr. Y—— went to Washington, conferring there with the Custodian and with the Washington representative of the Service. Nothing could be done at that time. On November 23d word was received from the Legation, stating that the agreement had not yet been signed. Over three months later the Alien Property Custodian was again appealed to by the Jugoslav Section and asked whether it was possible to put through Mr. Y——'s claim before the ratification of the agreement. The Custodian replied that nothing could be done until the agreement was signed. Toward the end of the month the Jugoslav Section learned by chance that the agreement had been signed. Mr. Y—— was informed of this and went to Washington. On April

9th Mr. Y—— advised the Jugoslav Section that the Legation was unable to do anything for him, and that he would personally see the Service's Washington representative and the Custodian. On April 31st the Manager of the Jugoslav Section went to Washington, conferred with the Department of Justice (where the claim was being held for final O. K.) and, with the Service's Washington representative, conferred with the Custodian. The following day the Department of Justice demanded that the certificate of citizenship originally submitted be amended so as to indicate the exact treaty by which Mr. Y—— became a Jugoslav subject; also that an affidavit be made out explaining the misspelling of names. The Jugoslav Manager drew up this affidavit and requested the Legation to issue a new certificate of citizenship in accordance with the requirements of the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice then turned over the papers to the Custodian, and on April 21st Mr. Y—— received a check for $38,843.10

Third.—Many foreign-born people appeal to the Foreign Language Information Service for assistance in problems with which Federal departments are in no way connected, but which are purely local in character and have to be adjusted with state, municipal, and private agencies.

These appeals are classed as "Personal Problems" in the accompanying table. They come to the Foreign Language Information Service because of the confidence the foreign born have in it, and because they are ignorant or afraid of other agencies. It is not the primary purpose of this Service to handle such matters, but it is impossible to refuse to put these persons in touch with the proper authority or agency. This usually involves considerable correspondence or numerous conferences with various agencies.

The following health problem referred to the Foreign Language Information Service by a foreign-language organization illustrates this point:

On October 26th the secretary of the Croatian

Singing Society in Chicago wrote to the Service, calling its attention to the "sorrowful plight of the family of M—— O——," residing in Chicago. Mr. O—— had for some time been "acting very queer. . . . Several of our members have visited his home, which is the picture of poverty. . . . There was no possibility of talking to him sensibly in any manner. For some time he has been out of work, and it is really a mystery to us how the family is making ends meet. His wife is working and has been trying her best to keep up the family; but lately she became worried that he might do something to the children, and she thought it unsafe to leave them alone with him at home. With the assistance of the building and loan society, he bought a house, which was later burned down, and he is now living in a shack unsuitable for a human being. . . . We ask you kindly to take the necessary steps to help this poor family, and if necessary to place him where he would not be a menace to society." The Foreign Language Information Service then referred this letter to the United Charities of Chicago, which immediately sent an investigator to the home of M—— O——. The final report from the United Charities stated: "We took up the matter immediately after your report came to us. Mr. O—— was given treatment at the dispensary and was committed to the Chicago State Hospital for the Insane, February 24, 1921. Mrs. O—— is seeking a position as janitress. . . . We are supporting the family and are very much interested in the situation."

The purpose of individual service work of the Foreign Language Information Service is not, however, entirely fulfilled with the adjustment of the problems individuals bring to it.

There are two other features of the work which are of primary importance:

First.—The Service informs the native-born public of the facts it obtains through its individual service work, the conditions which cause these difficulties, and the consequent needs of the foreign born. The

Service believes that many of these difficulties will be prevented, and many needs not allowed to continue when there is fuller knowledge and understanding of them. This phase of the work is described more fully in the "Interpretation of the Foreign Born to the Native Born."

Second.—The Foreign Language Information Service carries back to the Government departments and bureaus the specific needs which its individual service work reveals, in order to assist in the working out of regulations and administrative procedure which will insure fair and equitable treatment of the foreign born. As an instance of this feature of individual service work, the coöperation of the Service with the Bureau of Internal Revenue on the income tax may be cited. This has already been described in "Government Coöperation," but the significance and far-reaching effects of this feature of individual service work on the foreign born themselves must also be noted. It is hard for the average American to conceive of the situation that existed among the foreign born in 1918, 1919, and 1920 as a result of the wrong classification of resident and non-resident aliens, of heavy overtaxing, and denial of rightful exemptions. Thousands of appeals to the Foreign Language Information Service from all parts of the country showed the condition to be one bordering on terror. Resident aliens were classed as non-resident aliens; certain foreign-born groups were denied their rightful exemptions; wages, sometimes amounting to several weeks' earnings, were withheld by employers who were obliged under the law to act as withholding agents for non-resident alien workmen; the foreign born were unable to secure receipts or records of taxes they had paid; they were given a "blue slip" to sign (the "Declaration of Intention of Residence" form), which meant to their minds only the forcing of citizenship upon them; and, finally, thousands of foreign born were seriously overtaxed, due largely to the misunderstanding or ignorance of collectors and employers.

The anxiety and fear of the foreign born were only equaled by the sense of injustice being done them. The following letter, one of hundreds of its sort, gives a slight indication of the situation:

"I, G—— K——, beg the Russian Section to help me. The Russian immigrants are not able to pay the taxes. Some time ago I read in the papers that only those who earned more than $1,000 a year have to pay the tax, and only on what they earned over $1,000, and I have paid $12.07. But now in the factory they withhold more, and tell that I must pay $145 for the last year, and if I have to pay for this year also, I will have to pay more than $300. And so I have to work, but do not get money to live on.

"And please explain to me why they force us to take American papers. Those who do not want to take the papers are put out of work. And if I take the papers will I be able to go back to Russia? And why did they put the Russian people in such a helpless position? They do not allow us to return to Russia, and here it is now impossible to live.

"And I beg the Russian Section to answer my prayer and tell me what is going to become of the Russian immigrants."

Through revision in certain forms and regulations and administrative procedure, which the Service worked out with the Bureau of Internal Revenue, conditions as above described were gradually changed. Correct classification of aliens became more prevalent, withholding procedure better understood, lawful exemptions were granted, and refund proceedings for overpaid taxes were started. In four months' time for 4,197 cases the Foreign Language Information Service recovered $203,852.45 in overpaid taxes.

The consequences among the foreign born of this income tax work of the Service is summed up in the following letter from a Pole in Cicero, Illinois:

"I want to say here that your work is the work of noble people who are aiding us in this way, and that it will remain in my memory for the rest of my life. I do not say this because of the few dollars I received as a refund, but *because of the justice rendered to us poor Poles* by your Bureau."

It is not merely the material results obtained by the Service in solving the thousands of individual problems that give its work so far-reaching an influence

among the foreign born. It is, as the writer of this letter says, the recognition by the Service that justice should be done the immigrant, and its effort to make the actual experiences of the foreign born square with the American sense of fair play.

PROBLEMS

FEBRUARY, 1920, TO MAY, 1921

Problems—	
Income tax	5,330
Passport	1,659
War Risk or Bonus	693
Immigration	2,953
Emigration	2,311
Naturalization	1,685
Exploitation	420
Compensation	296
Health	672
Locating relatives	1,415
Sending money, letters, and packages to Europe	270
Relief	126
Personal problems	2,421
Unemployment	206
*Others	2,992
Total Number of Problems	23,449
Total Number of Problems Settled	20,646

FOREIGN-LANGUAGE ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHER WORK

1. *Foreign-Language Organizations*

Thirty-five thousand foreign-language organizations, national, local branches, and independent local societies, coöperate with the Foreign Language Information Service. These are chiefly benefit and insurance societies, educational, social, musical, and dramatic organizations. Both through correspondence and attendance at conventions and meetings, the Section managers maintain close contact with the leaders and members of these organizations. Releases on the most

* Legal matters, divorce, education, and Alien Property Custodian, etc.

important Government regulations, rulings, and laws go to many of them. They circulate these among their members, read them at meetings, and place them on their bulletin boards.

The foreign-language organizations are a most important factor, not only in reaching their vast membership, but also in reaching many of the illiterate, who are not able to benefit by the foreign-language press. As an illustration of how effective they are in this respect, may be quoted the following from a letter of the president of the Russian Orthodox Clerical League:

"From the day when the Russian Bureau of the Foreign Language Information Service has been organized, I have been regularly receiving all the articles and releases which you mailed. I have used them in my talks to the Russians of this city, most of them uneducated and illiterate people who cannot read and understand newspapers, and I have found them to be of very great help to me. I would like to continue receiving them in the future."

2. *Information Furnished Foreign-Language and Other Organizations and Agencies*

During the fifteen-month period—February, 1920, to May, 1921—the Service has taken care of 4,234 requests for information. These came from two general groups of applicants—native born and foreign born. The majority of the inquiries from native born came from agencies working with the immigrant and from Government departments. Information on the foreign-born groups, specific difficulties to be adjusted for foreign-born individuals, methods of Americanization, and information on European conditions are the subjects of most of these inquiries. These matters are treated more fully in "Service to American Agencies."

Inquiries from the foreign born are largely requests from organizations and editors for specific or general information on naturalization, immigration laws, and for publications in foreign languages on American history, laws, civics, health, and educational matters. Typical of hundreds of these requests is the following

from the president of the Czechoslovak Legion in America:

"If you receive any further information concerning citizenship papers or naturalization matters, I shall always be most grateful if you will supply these to me, not only for my own information, but for our entire Legion."

3. *Travel*

One of the most potent means of meeting the individual needs of the immigrant is through the visits the managers make to the settlements of their people. During the fifteen-month period 280 of these trips were made by fifteen Foreign Language Section managers. During these trips meetings are frequently called in the places the manager visits for the purpose of conferring with him about group problems and individual difficulties. One manager in a three-weeks' trip to Chicago and the vicinity held nineteen such gatherings, at which he thoroughly explained the income tax regulations and adjusted individual cases. Three hundred people on an average attended these meetings. Another manager went to Bridgeport at the request of a foreign-language editor there. The editor arranged for a hall, and over five hundred people came to learn about the income tax requirements. Two hundred individual cases were assisted in filling out blanks. Thirty-two conventions were attended in the same fifteen-month period. The managers not only spoke at these conventions, but held numerous conferences with various delegates, arranged for coöperation with local lodges, and learned of the problems and needs of their groups in the various sections of the country.

4. *Lectures*

During the first two years of its work the Foreign Language Information Service gave in Russian, with great success, three sets of important lectures on American history. Certain foreign-speaking groups are reached most effectively through educational work of

the lecture type, and it is highly important that their demands for this be met.

5. *Foreign-Language Publications*

It should be noted that during fifteen months 1,465 appeals for literature have come to the Foreign Language Information Service. They are coming in increasing numbers. They fall under two general heads: (a) Requests for pamphlets and leaflets giving practical information on agriculture, procedure for citizenship, education, child welfare, and health; (b) requests for books in foreign languages on American history, civics, biographies of American statesmen, and other informative material.

As a result of the many appeals from the foreign-born groups, the Service has printed and circulated 95,000 pamphlets in Russian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, and Polish on the following topics: "How Americans Won Their Liberty;" "Abraham Lincoln;" "How to Take Care of Your Health;" "America in War and Peace;" "A Message to American Hungarians," and "Venereal Diseases, and How to Prevent Them." The most important piece of printed matter issued by the Service during the past year is "Education in the United States," printed in Russian, and with a foreword by the United States Commissioner of Education.

Requests are constantly coming in to the Foreign Language Information Service in greater numbers from American agencies and persons dealing with the foreign born for this same sort of pamphlet. The pamphlet and leaflet work along these strictly educational and informative lines should be extended. What has been done is scarcely a beginning of what is needed. Pamphlets of this sort should be sold at cost; leaflets should be available for free distribution.

The Foreign Language Information Service has been unable to meet the constant requests for translations of standard books on civics, American history, biography, and similar informative material because of pressure of work and financial limitations. It is essen-

tial that such translations be made, so that immigrants eager to learn about American education can get these books from libraries, private agencies, and their own organizations. The Service is peculiarly well equipped to handle such work successfully because of its highly trained and experienced foreign-language staff.

INQUIRIES

FEBRUARY, 1920, TO MAY, 1921

Subjects—	
Income Tax	87
Passport	92
War Risk or Bonus	29
Immigration	266
Emigration	182
Naturalization	160
Request for Literature	1,465
Exploitation	77
Compensation	11
Health	34
Personal Problems	22
*Others	1,809
Total Inquiries	4,234
Inquiries From—	
Government Departments	400
Newspapers—foreign-language	392
Employers	179
Individuals	858
**Other Agencies	2,012
Total Applicants	3,841

INTERPRETATIVE WORK WITH THE NATIVE BORN

From the very inception of the Foreign Language Information Service it was designed that interpretation for the native born should go with that for the

* Inquiries about Alien Property Custodian, agriculture and land opportunities, foreign-language groups in the country, European contracts, and Americanization.

** Foreign-language organizations, Red Cross, and other American agencies, State and municipal departments, State libraries, State departments of education, diplomatic and consular offices.

foreign born. In spite of this original intention, it has been impossible to develop that phase of the work which deals with the native press and native public as fully as was desired or as is necessary. There are several reasons for this.

First: In interpreting the immigrant to the native press and to the public, the Service has been obliged to meet a directly antagonistic point of view. The immigrant, on his side, is open to conviction. He wants to learn the truth. The intensive campaign against all things and all persons foreign carried on for the last two years has resulted in the erection of a barrier of determined misunderstanding, largely on the part of the native born. It has been difficult to get the native press to print the plain truth about the alien, because that truth s not as sensational as the anti-alien propaganda they have been printing. It is difficult to make the public believe for the same reason. The average native-born citizen is firmly convinced that all foreign-language papers are violently and seditiously radical. This hysteria is beginning to die out, but it is dying slowly. To break down this barrier and provide a reciprocity of understanding and sympathy, the directly interpretative work of the Service has been undertaken.

Second: The need of the foreign born was more immediate and acute. Information to them often meant life.

Third: The mechanics of the Service have been better fitted for the dissemination of information to the foreign born than to the native born. Disregarding past performance, however, it is very evident that the situation as it stands contains immense potentialities for expansion.

The work of interpreting the foreign born to the native born has proceeded through two mediums—the American Press Section and the incidental service which has been given outside agencies and individuals. For a discussion of this last phase the reader is referred to that section of this summary which is entitled

"Service to American Agencies," while for an analysis of the work of the American Press Section, under which the major portion of the interpretative work properly and naturally comes, the following will suffice:

The American Press Section is the clearing house through which passes all material used in the endeavor to inform our native-born population about the aliens of the United States. The source of this material is the fifteen foreign-language sections who keep the American Press Section supplied with copy, which is edited, rewritten, and sent out to the American press and to agencies and individuals as well.

The work of the American Press Section falls under three general heads: the Editorial Feature Service, the Clip-Sheet Service, and the Special Article Service.

Editorial Feature Service

In March, 1920, the Section started to issue to a well-known syndicate in Washington, D. C., a weekly collection of translations of editorials from current issues of the foreign-language press. The object in view was to let the native-born public see for themselves that the foreign-language press was a constructive element in the community. The first month these editorials numbered only twenty-eight, but the quantity has steadily increased until the high mark of 159 was reached in March, 1921, an increase of almost 500 per cent. For the same months the syndicate used seven and thirty-seven, respectively, an increase of almost 430 per cent. The editorials used in March, 1920, contained 1,537 words, and those of March, 1921, 7,700; that is, four times as many words. Altogether the American Press Section released 1,225 editorials to the syndicate, of which 363, or over one third, have been used. Accepted editorials for the whole period contained 11,939 words, and were distributed to over 100 papers throughout the country.

Additional editorials are frequently sent out to newspapers, such as the New York *Evening Post*, the Chicago *Daily News*, the New York *American*, and the

Los Angeles *Times*, etc. If they appear to be of sufficient interest, these papers reprint them, with or without editorial comment.

On April 7, 1921, an arrangement was effected with the Executive Offices of the White House by which a symposium of editorial comment from the foreign-language press was supplied once a week thereafter for the President's information. It may be noted that so far as is known this is the first time that the foreign-language press has entered the White House doors. Excerpts from eighty-two editorials have been submitted, totaling 17,160 words. They were taken from twenty-five different papers.

Clip-Sheet Service

There are three clip-sheets sent out each month. One of these is sent to the individuals, agencies, and papers in New York State only, and consists of material particularly applicable to those within this territory; another is like the first in form, but is sent to all those outside New York State; and the third, which is known as the "Organization Clip-sheet," is sent to the entire mailing list without exception. The first two clip-sheets consist of short items which show whatever constructive work the immigrant groups or individuals are engaged in. These items are almost never "spot-news," but an effort is made to keep them as newsy as possible, notwithstanding. The service is designed to create a mutual understanding as well as to offset anti-alien propaganda by the presentation of plain facts. The third clip-sheet consists of a statement by each one of the fifteen managers of the foreign-language Sections on the salient points of interest affecting his or her group during the preceding month. Through this clip-sheet an effort is made to place before those who are interested, the actual results of the work done by the Service as a whole. Two years ago the Service issued a monthly bulletin or report on its work which was well received, but which suffered extinguishment. This last clip-sheet provides a sub-

stitute for this bulletin, albeit an unsatisfactory one. For the purpose of figuring, we may take the three clip-sheets as a single unit. This shows that: The average content of the clip-sheet for the first three months of its publication was thirty-four items averaging 145 words apiece for each month. By the last three numbers this had advanced to forty-six items a month, averaging 125 words. Covering a period of twelve months, the American Press Section issued twenty-five clip-sheets of 495 items containing a total of 68,103 words.

Special Article Service

In the latter part of March contact was established with several news syndicates and a new service instituted which enables the American Press Section to release feature stories somewhat richer in detail than the clip-sheet items. So far six of these stories have been released, amounting to 3,650 words.

Since November, 1920, this Section has had articles published totaling about 22,000 words on various phases of the work of this organization and allied subjects. In addition to this, data for articles has been supplied to several writers of note.

During the period covered by this report the American Press Section has released considerably in excess of 200,000 words, or 200 solid newspaper columns.

It is important to observe that this service has not only proved effective in its direct work with the American press, but has likewise been of distinct use in encouraging the foreign-language press not to lose faith. The smallest news item, as well as the most important special article, is received by the foreign born with an appreciation that is tragic in its indication of long years of misunderstanding.

Service to American Agencies

Inevitably, as the nature of the work and the strength of the position of the Foreign Language Information Service became more widely known, agencies from all

over the country actively participating or interested in the problems of assimilation of the immigrant population began to appeal to the Service for information and assistance.

It has always been the policy of the Service to assist, in so far as is possible, responsible agencies that are carrying out a constructive program. While the Service has been able to amass a great quantity of information about the foreign born and the adjusting of their problems, it has never been sufficiently staffed to permit the compilation of much of this material in form suitable for distribution.

Perhaps the largest number of requests has been for assistance in adjusting the problems of foreign-born individuals from agencies not equipped to handle such work. These cases, of course, have been taken care of as part of the fundamental service of the organization.

Next in quantity are the requests for literature. These are divided roughly into three classes: Requests for literature in foreign languages for distribution to foreign born; requests for pamphlets about the foreign born; and requests for literature about the organization and work of the Foreign Language Information Service.

Besides the definite requests for assistance on case work and for literature, many inquiries are received for general information about the immigrant population, European conditions, immigration, Americanization, Government regulations affecting the foreign born, and a host of other subjects, many of which would require a volume to answer.

In addition to the foregoing, requests are received for translations, for foreign speakers for local meetings, for assistance in the preparation of exhibitions, and for aid in the preparation of articles and books.

The location of the Service at the major port of entry for immigrants has made it the logical organization for inland agencies to appeal to for assistance on immigration cases. Hardly a day passes that does not bring such a request from organizations like the

Citizenship Bureau in Cleveland, the American Fellowship in Buffalo, or the Americanization Society of Grand Rapids.

The preponderance of requests come, naturally, from the agencies organized to work with the foreign born and educational institutions. Among the many to whom effective service has been rendered are: the Immigrants' Commission of Illinois, the Child Federation of Philadelphia, the California Commission on Immigration and Housing, National Catholic Welfare Council, International Institutes of the Young Women's Christian Association, the University of Minnesota, New York State Department of Education, the New York Public Library, the American Library Association, the National Tuberculosis Association, Vassar College, Interchurch World Movement, and the University of Iowa.

During the preparation by the Carnegie Corporation of the "Study of Methods of Americanization," the Service was able to give to the director of the study and his assistants a great deal of specific information on the immigrant groups and their particular problems.

Another example of effective coöperation has been with the American Relief Administration. Numbers of their releases explaining the "Food Drafts" were translated and sent to the foreign-language press, in which they received wide publication. Circulars in foreign languages were distributed to the organizations of the foreign born. Letters from Europe requesting the location of relatives who might assist their families were translated and the relatives located.

The unique position of the Foreign Language Information Service as a center of information about the foreign born has been recognized by numbers of educational institutions. State departments of education, professors in universities, libraries, college debating societies, and local boards of education have appealed to the Service for general and specific information on the immigrant groups.

Every effort has been made to fulfill all these re-

quests, but the extent of possible coöperation has been limited. Of particular interest are the requests from such bodies as the Department of Americanization of the University of Minnesota, the libraries of Chicago and Illinois Universities, debating societies in Wellesley and Vassar Colleges, and the faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Many of these colleges, schools, and libraries have requested that they be placed on the mailing list to receive the daily foreign-language press releases. Thirty copies of these releases are used by the New York Public Library alone to place in its branches in the foreign-born quarters.

The National Tuberculosis Association has been assisted in the translation of its pamphlets and in the distribution of its educational material to the foreign-born population.

The service work to American agencies should be further developed. Information now in the files of the Foreign Language Information Service, which is being constantly augmented and brought up to date, would be sufficient to fill most of the requests received. Unfortunately, this material is not readily available, as much of it is in letters, clippings, and card records. By classifying and analyzing this material and compiling it in printed, multigraphed, and mimeographed form, it would be possible to place in the hands of interested organizations a great deal of helpful and authoritative information.

Contacts and Coöperation with European Countries

An interesting and important phase of the work of the Foreign Language Information Service lies in the field of international connections with the European press and with official and private agencies. Many of these connections the section managers have already developed and, given opportunity, can develop much more extensively.

Over 200 of the most important papers in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Jugoslavia, Poland, Norway, Sweden, Lithuania, Siberia, Finland, and Latvia use the releases of the foreign-language sections. Articles released from the Bureaus of War Risk Insurance, Internal Revenue, Immigration, Education, the Departments of State, Agriculture, Labor, and Commerce are the most widely read. The sections frequently receive letters from persons in Europe, saying that they have seen a release of the Foreign Language Information Service in a local European paper, and asking for more information of the sort contained. It appears, oddly enough, that data of this type is more available through this Service than through the Government itself.

Some of this material is reprinted by the European press from the foreign-language press in America, but many European papers are, at their request, on the mailing list of the Foreign Language Information Service for its Government releases. A few of these papers are the six leading Italian dailies of Rome, Florence, Milan, and Naples; twenty-five chief papers in Czechoslovakia, and twenty-two in Hungary. The official press bureau of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in Belgrade, and also the press bureau of the provincial governments of Slovenia, Croatia, Ljubljana, and Belgrade are receiving directly the regular releases of the Jugoslav Section. The newspapers throughout Jugoslavia get the Jugoslav Section releases from these agencies. An exchange service is also worked out with the important papers of Lithuania.

Highly appreciative editorial comment of the work of the Foreign Language Information Service has appeared in many papers in different countries.

Requests for information and coöperation come to the Foreign Language Information Service from many government, semi-official, and private European agencies. The Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs writes:

"The Health Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which has charge of all the health work in Lithuania, requests you to kindly send us all the pamphlets, instructions, releases, etc., you have and which you issue on health."

The libraries of Helsingfors University and Turun Suomal University, Finland, have requested copies of all releases of the Finnish Section.

The Czechoslovak Section is in frequent correspondence with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Social Welfare, of the Czechoslovak Republic, and with the Czechoslovak National Red Cross and Masaryk's Academy of Labor.

Many of these agencies have offered their services to the Foreign Language Information Service.

A letter from the Czechoslovak Ministry of National Defense reads:

"We are in receipt of your several communications with reference to the location for their United States relatives of Czechoslovak soldiers who served in Russia, Siberia, Italy, France, etc., and also to secure information on war prisoners. We have already reported on seven recent cases, and to-day we take pleasure in giving you definite news, as in appended detailed reports. . . ."

(Six cases followed.)

The Samaritan Section of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee writes:

"We have been referred to you by the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee in Lemberg, and it is with much pleasure and due appreciation that we hear of the work your bureau is doing.

"We are writing you on behalf of the Samaritan Section of said Committee, which performs the services of a Ukrainian Red Cross in Galicia, and we are most anxious to enter into connection with you, so much the more as some of our interests seem to be closely bound up with yours.

"We are constantly in receipt of requests from people who are desirous to locate their relatives and friends in America, and we should be very grateful if you would let us have your advice and assistance in establishing contacts between the Ukrainians here and their people in your country.

"We can supply you with lists of Ukrainian prisoners in Poland and of the Ukrainian soldiers who were killed in Ukraine

or died in prison, and we will be glad to give you any information you may need.

"We feel sure that our organizations can be of mutual aid to each other, and trust you will be able to favor us with your coöperation."

The Hungarian Section has adjusted many individual problems, such as locating relatives, sending money or packages to Hungary, postal savings deposits in coöperation with the Hungarian Post Office Department, the Department of the Treasury, Department of Commerce, the local Hungarian Police Departments, and the Hungarian Red Cross Mission in Siberia.

The Central Committee of the Primorie Zemstvo Union, Vladivostok, Siberia, has requested Russian Section releases and material on agriculture and health. The Information Service of the Russian Zemstvos and Municipalities, Committee for Refugees, Paris, writes:

"Kindly send us at least twenty of your daily bulletins for 1920 and 1921. We will use these to a great advantage and distribute them among our branches and libraries. We will also greatly appreciate if you will send us in Russian or English bulletins or pamphlets on the questions of immigration, health and agriculture. For the Russian refugees who are suffering at the present time throughout Europe and who are making efforts to reëstablish themselves, this sort of information is invaluable. We will also use your information for the bulletin published by our committee."

The General Dutch Association, Netherland Abroad, and the Immigrant Society of Holland are in close and sympathetic touch with the work of the Foreign Language Information Service through the Dutch section.

Special information has been requested of the Italian Section by the Commissariat of Emigration in Italy, the Italian War Department, and the Italian Red Cross.

The German Red Cross and two large societies in Germany—the German Foreign Institute and the German Protective League—have appealed to the German Section for information on immigration laws

and regulations and have referred to it Alien Property Custodian cases.

The Norwegian minister has requested the Norwegian Section to assist in arranging for an exchange of educational publications between the United States and the Department of Church and Public Instruction of Norway. The Norwegian Section is also in close contact with the Normansforbundet, an international organization of Norwegians with members in all parts of the world.

The Jugoslav Section is in constant touch with twenty of the most prominent and influential Jugoslav educators, statesmen, and publicists. All of these men have given much publicity to the work of the Foreign Language Information Service in Jugoslavia.

Through relations such as these, much helpful and valuable information is being exchanged between the people of this country and Europe.

Finally

We are faced with these facts:

There are 3,000,000 people in the United States who cannot speak, read, or write English.

There are 3,000,000 more who are best reached through the medium of their own tongue.

They will learn English and become citizens only if their individual experiences square with our ideal of American fair play.

The first step must be this:

We must inform them in their native language not only of their obligations and responsibilities, but also of their rights and privileges under our Government.

The more they understand these, the greater will be their interest in becoming permanently identified with this country, in learning its language and adopting its customs.

At the same time, the native born must be fully informed concerning the 14,000,000 immigrant popula-

tion of America, so that they may function together understandingly.

What the Foreign Language Information Service Does

The Foreign Language Information Service takes this first step in the process of assimilating the foreign born and educating the native born regarding him. It informs the foreign born in his own language about the government and the laws of this country. It explains what the Government expects of him and what it offers him. It clears up his misconceptions and adjusts his difficulties.

It also keeps in close and constant touch with the large body of the American press through bulletins, clip-sheets, special stories and articles, in the effort to break down the wall of misunderstanding between the native and the foreign born.

How It Does This

The Foreign Language Information Service works through 795 papers of the foreign-language press, 35,000 foreign-language organizations, and adjusts more than 2,000 personal cases a month. It has sent out 95,000 pamphlets in Russian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, and Polish, and has stimulated lecture service in several languages. On the other hand, it furnishes 30,000 words of foreign-language editorial matter to 100 American papers monthly, sends 5,000 words of general news concerning the immigrant population to 400 papers, and makes accessible authentic data concerning our foreign born to about 9,000 other American periodicals.

APPENDIX "B"

Released by the U. S. Committee on Public Information

INDEPENDENCE DAY, 1918

THE BASIS FOR THE GREAT CELEBRATION OF THE FOREIGN BORN AND THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS

The Petition of May 21, 1918, and President Wilson's Reply

To the President of the United States:

On the Fourth of July, 1776, the founders of this Republic began the movement for human liberty and the rights of nations to govern themselves. One hundred and forty-two years later we find the world democracy, of which this Nation was a pioneer, formidably assailed by the powers of reaction and autocracy.

We represent those peoples whose sons and daughters came to this land later than the founders of the Republic, but drawn by the same ideals. The nations and races and peoples which we represent are taking their part, in one way or another, in the struggle. Some, happily, enjoying a political entity, are fighting openly and with arms against the enemies of progress. Others, unhappily submerged, can give but a passive opposition. Others have been forced against their will into the armies of the common enemy. Finally, a few still remain outside, hard pressed, threatened by the mailed fist, dreading alike to be drawn in and to be found apart from the rest when the hour of settlement arrives. But all, through infinite suffering, struggle either blindly or open-eyed toward the same end—the right of peoples to govern themselves as they themselves see fit, and a just and lasting peace.

The higher interests of the races which we left behind have become identical, in this significant year, with the higher interests of the United States. We regard ourselves now not only as members of an American commonwealth, one and indivisible, but of a world commonwealth, equally indivisible. United for the principles of that democratic world-state which is fighting now for its being on the battlefields of Europe, we intend on July 4, 1918, to manifest, by special celebrations, our loyalty to this country and to the cause for which we fight; and we respectfully request that you call the attention of your

fellow citizens to this fact, in order that they may join with us in commemorating this, the anniversary not only of national freedom but of universal freedom.

Signed for the:

ARMENIANS

American National Union of America, by Miran Sevasly, chairman, and Vochan Chookagian, secretary.

Armenian National Union Branch of New York, by Z. Matikias, chairman.

ASSYRIANS

Assyrian Association of America, by Joel E. Werda, president.

BELGIANS

Belgian-American National Alliance, by Felix J. Streyckmans, president.

CHINESE

Chinese Nationalist League of America, by Chan Pe Kiang, president.

Chinese-American Citizens' Association, New York.

Chinese Free Masons, San Francisco, Cal.

Chinese Six Companies, San Francisco, California.

Native Sons of Golden State, San Francisco, California.

CZECHOSLAVS (BOHEMIANS, MORAVIANS, SILESIANS, SLOVAKS)

Czechoslovak National Council, by Jaroslav Cisar, secretary.

DANES

Members of Executive Commission: Dr. Max Henius, Carl Antonsou, John C. Christensen, and Henry L. Hertz.

League of Patriotic Service, by Jacob A. Riis.

DUTCH

Of Muskegon, Michigan, by Hon. Benjamin A. Oosterbaan, Henry A. Langeland, and Rev. John Dolfin.

Of Holland, Michigan, by Hon. Gerrit J. Dickema, Mayor Nicodemus Bosch, Gerrit J. Van Scheven, Henry Holkeboer, and Rev. Edward J. Took.

Of Grand Rapids, Michigan, by Jacob Steketee, Cornelius Dosker, Rev. John Groen, and Rev. Henry Beets.

FINNS

Finnish Aid Society Imatra, by Vaino Jaivi, secretary.

Finnish Golgotha Congregational Church, by John Laine, secretary Board of Trustees.

Ladies of Kaleva, by Sara Rayhy, secretary.

APPENDIX B

French

General Association of the Alsatians and Lorrainers of America, by Hon. Daniel Blumenthal, president.

Federation of the French Alliances of the United States.

French Institute in the United States.

Federation of the French Societies of New York.

Federation of French Alliances, by Louis Delamarre, general secretary.

Société Française de Bienfaisance, by Lucien Jouvaud, president.

French Canadians

French Canadian Society of New York.

Germans

Friends of German Democracy, by Franz Siegel, president.

Greeks

Greek-American National Union, by D. J. Theophilatos, chairman Executive Committee, and Nicholas L. Bistis, secretary.

American-Hungarian Loyalty League, by Alexander Konta, chairman.

Italians

The Roman Legion of America, by Dr. Antonio Stella, president.

Japanese

Japanese Association of Southern California, by Noriyuki Toyama, president.

Japanese Association of New York, by Reitaro Ichinoneia, president.

Japanese Association of Chicago, by Tomihoi Maruyama, president.

Japanese Association of America, San Francisco, by George Shima, president.

Lithuanians

Lithuanian National Council, by Charles V. Chesnul, secretary.

Norwegians

Sons of Norway, by L. Stevenheim, supreme secretary.

Mangus Swenson.

Poles

Polish National Department, by Henry Setmajer, secretary.

Portuguese

Supreme Lodge I. D. E. S., San Francisco, California.

ROUMANIANS

The Roumanian National League, Cleveland, Ohio, by Dr. D. Moldovan.

RUSSIANS

Russkoye Slovo, by Leo Pasvolsky.

SOUTH SLAVS (CROATS, SERBS, SLOVENES)

South Slavic National Council, by John J. Grgurevich, secretary.

SWEDES

John Ericsson League of Patriotic Service, by Harry Olsen, president, and Harry Lund, vice-president.

Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod, by Gus Brandelle, acting president.

Metropolitan District Council of John Ericsson League, by Peter Hanson, chairman

SWISS

New York Swiss Club, by Ulrich Eck, president.

The President's reply follows:

To Our Citizens of Foreign Extraction:

I have read with great symapthy the petition addressed to me by your representative bodies regarding your proposed celebration of Independence Day; and I wish to convey to you, in reply, my heartfelt appreciation for its expressions of loyalty and good will. Nothing in this war has been more gratifying than the manner in which our foreign-born fellow citizens, and the sons and daughters of the foreign born, have risen to this greatest of all national emergencies. You have shown where you stand, not only by your frequent professions of loyalty to the cause for which we fight, but by your eager response to calls for patriotic service, including the supreme service of offering life itself in battle for justice, freedom, and democracy. Before such devotion as you have shown all distinctions of race vanish, and we feel ourselves citizens in a Republic of free spirits.

I therefore take pleasure in calling your petition, with my hearty commendation, to the attention of all my fellow countrymen, and I ask that they unite with you in making the Independence Day of this, the year when all the principles to which we stand pledged are on trial, the most significant in our national history.

As July 4, 1776, was the dawn of democracy for this Nation, let us on July 4, 1918, celebrate the birth of a new and greater spirit of democracy, by whose influence, we hope and believe, what the signers of the Declaration of Independence dreamed of

for themselves and their fellow countrymen shall be fulfilled for all mankind.

I have asked the Committee on Public Information to co-operate with you in any arrangements you may wish to make for this celebration.

WOODROW WILSON.

SPEECH OF FELIX J. STREYCHMANS

Representing the Belgian-Americans, and Chairman of the Committee of the Foreign Born, at Mount Vernon, July 4, 1918

Mr. President and Members of the Diplomatic Corps:

To this shrine of the American people, to the mortal remains of the man who, more than any other, gave the American ideal life and form, we have come to-day, bearing our humble tribute as citizens of the Great Republic. You yourself, Mr. President, have acceded to our request that this Independence Day be designated as a festival of loyalty on the part of our foreign-born citizens and of their sons and daughters. It is for me, representing this committee of pilgrims, to tell you what it means to us.

One hundred and forty-two years ago to-day a group of men, animated with the same spirit as that of the man who lies here, founded the United States of America on the theory of free government with the consent of the governed. That was the beginning of America. As the years went on, as one century blended with another, men and women came from even the uttermost ends of the earth to join them. We have called them alien, but they were never alien. Though they spoke not a word of the language of this country, though they groped only dimly toward its institutions, they were already Americans in soul, or they would never have come.

We are the latest manifestations of that American soul. And scarcely had we settled ourselves into the structure of this dear country of our adoption when we found the spirit of Washington, now blazing up to

be the guiding light of twenty great nations, assailed as never before by the sinister forces of reaction. Autocracy in its most murderous form had gathered itself for its final struggle. With the soul of Washington leading on, America entered the battle line, and we in a spirit of solemn gladness entered with her.

We who make this pilgrimage are the offspring of thirty-three different nations—and Americans all. We come not alone. Behind us are millions of our people, united to-day in pledging themselves to the cause of this country and of the free nations with which she is joined. In my own city eight hundred thousand foreign-born men and women are at this moment lifting their hands and renewing their vows of loyalty. From coast to coast, in city, town, and hamlet, our citizens will be demonstrating that the oath which they took upon their naturalization was not an empty form of words. Yes, and more than that. When to-morrow the casualty list brings heaviness to some homes and a firm sense of resolution to all, we shall read upon the roll of honor Slavic names, Teutonic names, Latin names, Oriental names, to show that we have sealed our faith with the blood of our best youth.

To this beloved shade we come to-day with the hopes of our races garnered in our hands. To you, worthy successor of our greatest liberator, we give the promise of the millions who sent us here that we will persevere in the struggle until lasting freedom is secured not only for this nation, but for the nations from which we sprang—and for all the other nations. The sword which we have grasped we will not lay down until the dream of Washington and of his great generation be fulfilled for us, for our American sons and daughters, and for a whole suffering, struggling world.

APPENDIX "C" [1]

MR. EDWARD HALE BIERSTADT,
New York City.

DEAR SIR:

Permit me to make a few comments concerning the pseudo-Americanization of the North American Civic League for Immigrants, and that I may say as a former worker of the League I have been long waiting and collecting data for someone not myself to disclose the real purpose of this organization. My own position is most delicate. I am a foreigner, and as such dare not to criticize American institutions, and, moreover, I have paid my price for personal liberty and self-expression.

"To protect immigrants and resident aliens and to interest and instruct them in American ideals and requirements of American citizenship:" That to me, a young collegiate student and an immigrant, seemed all too noble and most social spirited. That was long before Americanization became a fad, a slogan for the press, professional Americanizers, and worthy patriots. Moreover, these noble words came from historic Boston, the seat of American culture and tradition. Skeptical I was just a little, having learned to question in my native land, but in spite of it I was determined to try to learn for myself the good and evil of such organizations.

My active affiliations with the League began some five years ago in a small industrial center in Connecticut. I was there in answer to a special wire from the headquarters to report at once. Great were my anticipations and earnestness of purpose "to do my bit." Here was my chance to put into practice all that I

[1] See page 106, Chapter XI.

had learned in the lecture room, and all that my professors inspired in me, and all that I held sacred and noble.

The immediate contact upon my arrival at the designated place was not too inspiring. I was greeted by a stupid and narrow-minded general organizer and a few foreign agents who were not his superiors mentally nor spiritually. I shrank before my task, for it was to begin with Americanizing or rather humanizing the Americanizers, and in that I knew I would not succeed. Consequently instead of intelligent coöperation and mutual understanding there arose discord, petty jealousy, and utter lack of solidarity and one great purpose.

It took me a few days to assimilate myself and reconcile to the situation; however, I was determined not to give up, though my difficulties increased and my idealism undermined. Concrete demands were made of me as a paid worker, but the most drastic ones I tactfully evaded. My position became most critical and most unpleasant. The foreign born rebelled against my interference; rumors began to spread that we were the hired agents of local manufacturers (our chief financial support did come from that source); loud criticism, distrust, and even hatred spread like wildfire over the entire foreign colony.

I plunged into the strife, mediating, but not defending nor justifying too strenuously the purpose of the League, or at least some of its tactics, which by this time misled me no more. I was simply using my every opportunity to do my utmost in spite of all adversities. I weighed the question pro and con, and argued with myself, Would it not be for the general good for me to continue my service rather than yield my position to some unscrupulous, indifferent agent? But my position and justification were not so clear to my friends and my opponents; to them I was a traitress, a social outcast.

The foreign colony was large, its needs and abuses striking, its ignorance and superstition startling, its

helplessness wringing the heart and arousing the keenest sympathy. And with each new call to calm a "troubled district" I answered most resignedly, feeling myself a martyr or a hypocrite, but I made a sacred vow to persist and learn all I was permitted.

Open opposition leading almost to riots at our public gatherings rapidly increased; scorn, ridicule, and even threats spread broadcast; fake rumors and deliberate lies circulated freely about our shady characters and our ill designs. Foreign press published open letters from its subscribers misinterpreting our work and aim. And when there was not a loyal friend left who did not question my integrity or criticize my affiliation, I knew it was high time to quit lest I really succumb.

But my reward was satisfying! In the twelve months of my most painstaking service I have learned and gathered enough data to last a lifetime study. I learned sociology such as I had never been taught in school; philanthropy and organized charity were no mere high-sounding, noble words. And when I outlined my criticism of the League and its activities, I could sustain my every statement with facts and personal experience, and I learned where to draw a line between facts and rumors, and I learned whom to charge with ill designs, and whom to pity for lack of character or sheer stupidity.

What is true Americanization? I have not learned to this day. Your definition suits me, but how abstract! Have you tried to apply it or at least realize it in part?[1] I gave up my work for Americanization, stirred with doubts, contempt, and absolute indifference to any social experiment directed in that channel. And if I had moral strength to regain my faith, would I find a place in this all-too-efficient patriotic movement? For most Americanizing agencies are too well organized, in that they all arrive at a mutual agree-

[1] I referred the writer to the work of the Foreign Language Information Service.

What a terrible indictment this letter is, not only of an organization, but of a system.—E. H. B.

ment as to who is fit or unfit to Americanize, to perform this sacred function of our democratic institutions. War has intensified pseudo-Americanization, and a perfect era of great loyalty, 100 per cent Americanism, and "law and order" reigns supremely. How can a foreigner find a place in such a well-ordered, prosperous, and democratic society?

Not knowing you personally or being acquainted with your work, judging chiefly by your articles in the New Republic, I trust in your integrity and sound judgment. I ask you not to use my name in any publication or public address, for I have stated above I paid my price and should not like to play a rôle of martyr. Society at its best may not deserve such a sacrifice and, moreover, it would be futile.

(Signed) ——— ———.

In contrast to the foregoing letter the following is of interest. This letter, like the other, speaks for itself. It is truly instructive to obtain this insight of an American schoolgirl's mental processes. The italics are mine.—E. H. B.

SPRING LAKE, N. J., November 29, 1921.

"DEAR PROFESSOR:

"Your letter rec'd and contents noted carefully. The information I would like very much to obtain is based on 'The Slav Language.' You see, I am preparing *a Thesis for High School graduation*, and *my topic is 'The Vehicle of Bolshevism,'* which means *wherever the Slav Tongue is spoken Bolshevism can be found.* So if you can give me any information about *where* Bolshevism is found, or anything about the Slav tongue in America or Europe, I shall appreciate it very much.

"Very truly yours,
"MARION ———."

APPENDIX "D"

NOTE I

The official report of the Bureau of Immigration on January 31, 1922, showed the following:

The yearly quota for the following countries has been exhausted.	Number of Aliens Still Admissible[1]	Country or place of birth.
Africa	92	Armenia
Atlantic Islands	51	Albania
Australia	4,806	Austria
Bulgaria	50	Belgium
Greece	797	Czechoslovakia
Hungary	236	Danzig
Jugoslavia	3,620	Denmark
Other Asia	2,067	Finland
Other Europe	65	Fiume
Palestine	2,345	France
Poland	56,744	Germany
Portugal	100	Italy
New Zealand	4	Luxemburg
Spain	2,067	Netherlands
Syria	9,145	Norway
Turkey and Smyrna District	11	Pacific Islands
	367	Roumania
	18,938	Russia
	14,603	Sweden
	1,374	Switzerland
	50,623	United Kingdom

Yearly quotas exhausted..... 16 nationalities
Under 100 remaining of quota..... 6 "
Over 50,000 remaining of quota.... 2 (United Kingdom and Germany)

[1] These quotas will be exhausted before this book is published.

NOTE 2

Two Editorials from the Foreign-Language Press on the 3 Per Cent Restriction Law

The Administration of the Immigration Law

It appears that at bottom it is merely indolence on the part of the law makers and the executives which is responsible for the inhuman treatment meted out to immigrants at the ports of immigration. There is, for instance, the provision that nationality is determined by the place of birth and not by the allegiance of the immigrant. That provision is very onerous for such German citizens as were, for instance, born in the territory ceded to Poland and afterwards went to live in Germany temporarily in order to emigrate to America. The immigration authorities can exclude such Germans by calling them Poles, since the Polish quota is exhausted for the current fiscal year.

Among the cases of hardship the following may be cited: Mr. Mueller, a man of excellent character, who has lived in Berlin since his childhood, started on his voyage to America, provided with a German passport and all the necessary visés. Closely interrogated by the immigration officer, he gave all the details demanded from him, and stated, among other things, that he was born at Neustadt, a place which is now called Wejherowo, and which has been ceded to Poland. The result was that the German, Mueller, is sent back to Germany—because the Polish quota is exhausted. Another case: A German who resided in the United States before the War married a native American girl, and raised two children. He was born in Poland, and, to complete his misfortune, he never succeeded in obtaining American citizenship. When war broke out he was in Germany, and he now desires to return to the United States. He finds himself in the following predicament: His wife and children, all of whom were born in this country, cannot be refused admission, but the father cannot be admitted; for, though he is a German citizen, he was born in Poland, and the Polish quota is exhausted. Cruelties of that kind occur too frequently, but are reported in the press very rarely. The existing immigration law is cruel enough, and it is superfluous to carry it out with that barbaric stupidity which seems to reign at the immigration stations at the present time.—(Translated from Philadelphia *Tageblatt;* published in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 22, 1921.)

Restriction Run Mad

Our immigration laws were originally designed to keep out of the country those who might be a source of danger. They were never meant to be applied to those who seek the help of

our skillful physicians and surgeons. Yet here is a case in which a boy may die because the immigration authorities at Ellis Island are more intent upon red tape than upon being human beings:

Manuel Salones, a seven-year-old lad from Colon, Panama, arrived with his father last Friday for the purpose of undergoing an operation at the hands of a brain specialist in Philadelphia. The father carried letters from William Jennings Price, the American Minister to Panama, and from Dr. R. W. Runyan and Dr. J. J. Vallamio, resident physicians of the Herrick Clinic in Panama City, stating that it was a matter of life or death, and asking that the examination of the boy be expedited, so that he might proceed to Philadelphia without delay. The lad is still at Ellis Island, waiting to be examined by the doctors. Assistant Immigrant Commissioner R. H. Landis says that he is quite willing to stretch a point and hurry matters in this case, but that he could take no action until the boy's condition had been determined.

It is well known that thousands of Americans go abroad in search of health. They flock to Europe, seeking relief from maladies and chronic diseases. Supposing any country acted toward any of these as the Ellis Island authorities act toward this poor boy, what a howl there would go up! And we would be right. It is inhuman to stand in the way of any being in search of health, between any human being and the physician's care and attention. The boy is not going to remain in this country permanently. The father wants to get back home as soon as possible. That boy should have been permitted to proceed immediately upon his arrival to Philadelphia, where a great brain specialist may save his life.

What earthly harm can that poor little boy do to the United States? Will he plot against the government? Will he seek to overthrow the Constitution? It is not only ridiculous; it is almost criminal. We talk of ending war, of bringing about an era of brotherhood, and here we deny a seriously sick lad of seven years the right of every human being to health and happiness. It is restriction run mad; it is red tape run riot. The surgeon waits, but red tape holds the boy. What becomes of our boasted humanity?

By such ruling the law is brought into disrepute. The remedy is a clear definition by Congress of just how far this law can go. (Translated from *The Jewish Daily News;* published in New York City, November 28, 1921.)

APPENDIX "E"

NOTE 1

Books on Americanization[1]

Americanization literature, if so it can be called (for indeed the greater number of books coming under this head make little or no claim to any literary value), has in the past been divided largely into two classes—works of the propagandist and of the sentimentalist. Of concrete information there has been little.

In the first class come the arguments for and against immigration, studies with an industrial bias of one kind or another, and those books which are more or less frankly prejudiced in their view on the alien as such. These are all books of special pleading. They all have an ulterior motive, and so are to be taken with the proverbial grain of salt. In some instances the motive is the desire of the employer for more unskilled labor; in some it is the fear of the rabid anti-radical of all foreigners; in others one may discern a wish to influence either the immigrant himself or the point of view of the public toward him from a religious, a social, or a political angle.

The second class is more obvious. In it may be placed not a few of those books written by immigrants or pseudo-immigrants. This is background material, desirable perhaps as correlative reading, but intrinsically of little importance, and, indeed, taken alone, more apt to muddy the reader's point of view than to clarify it.

The crying need has been for authentic information. Without that there has been little hope of establishing

[1] *Americanization Studies*, Carnegie Corporation, Harper & Brothers, 1921.

a sound basis from which one might deduce and progress. The need has been for studies by experts which would cover all the essential phases of the situation and which could be thoroughly relied upon. Strangely enough, considering the now chronic furore over Americanization, no such series, even in part, was obtainable until just a few months ago. Now, however, we are able to turn to the eleven books, though some of them are still in the process of publication, of the Americanization Studies conducted under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation.

This survey of the Americanization field was started about three years ago under the directorship of Allen T. Burns, who has remained to edit and supervise the final results of the findings. Upon the original invitation of the Corporation, a committee consisting of the late Theodore Roosevelt, Professor John Graham Brooks, Dr. John M. Glenn, and John A. Voll has acted in an advisory capacity to the director. An editorial committee composed of Dr. Talcott Williams, Dr. Raymond B. Fosdick, and Dr. Edwin F. Gay has read and criticized the manuscripts. Each volume appears under the name of the author, who had immediate charge of the particular field it is intended to cover. It is worth while to run through the list.

The logical starting-point will be "*Old World Traits Transplanted*," by Professors Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, for through this book we shall get something more than a glimpse of the various immigrant backgrounds. It is essential that we know what a man has come from if we would know what he is is going toward, and in this volume we shall find not only a discussion of racial characteristics, but also indications of the tendency of these traits to transplant themselves to America and to become a part of our

This does not purport to be in any sense a bibliography of Americanization material. It is in fact merely the reprint of a review of this particular series I wrote for the New York *Evening Post*. The series is so valuable, however, that I have no hesitation in recommending it as a groundwork for the student in this field.—E. H. B.

own heritage. From here to "*America via the Neighborhood,*" by John Daniels, is no great step. It is the immigrant in his relationship to the community that concerns us specifically, and we are able to see the old world traits functioning as direct contributions to the national life. The reaction of the immigrant to the community and the reaction of the community to him are observed carefully and with many precise examples noted. In all of these books there is material for the statistician and for the lay reader, but as they are intended primarily for the general public, there is little or nothing that is not readily comprehensible to anyone. "*America via the Neighborhood*" is an all-embracing title, for if America is to be reached at all, it is in just this way. To ascertain as exactly as may be what the immigrant brings to the process is of fundamental importance. Growing out of this study quite naturally comes "*Schooling the Immigrant,*" by Frank V. Thompson, Superintendent of Public Schools, Boston. And here is lamentation! The schooling of fhe immigrant is largely a problem in adult education tor which there is little provision in our much-boasted school system, and the results, in this instance, can be more easily described than imagined. What the immigrant needs and what he is able to get are separated by a wide gulf, and the type of education given him by some of those interested in inculcating their own particular ideas for their own particular ends is sometimes amazing. Education and the industrial complex are nearly related, so that "*Adjusting Immigrant and Industry,*" by William M. Leierson, chairman of the Labor Adjustment Board of Rochester, follows almost as a matter of course. As the greater part of unskilled labor in America is immigrant, there are a multitude of sins and not a few virtues comprised under this title. Indeed the scope of the inquiry here suggested is so great that this book alone might almost be taken as the focusing point of the whole study. If the "adjustment" implied is accomplished the problem of Americanization will be considerably

more than half solved. It is primarily requisite that the student of this subject digest well the industrial phase of the question. Not entirely unrelated to this is "*A Stake in the Land*," by Peter A. Speek, who is in charge of the Slavonic Section of the Congressional Library. Especially in view of Commissioner General of Immigration Husband's newly projected plans for a back-to-the-land movement for immigrants, this book is of significance. Incidentally, it is charmingly written, with an understanding not only of the problem itself, but of the human element involved that makes it doubly readable and valuable. "*New Homes for Old*," by S. P. Breckenridge, Assistant Professor of Household Administration of the University of Chicago, touches on a very vital factor, and one which is far too little understood or even regarded by the average Americanizer. "*Immigrant Health and the Community*," by Michael M. Davis, until recently director of the Boston Dispensary, and now on the staff of the *Survey*, is self-explanatory. This matter, as all others affecting the immigrant, touches our national welfare directly and acutely. "*The Immigrant Press and Its Control*," by Professor Park, while exceedingly unfortunate in the last word of its title, is of value and interest. Here, perhaps for the first time, we are able actually to analyze the foreign-language press, that enormously influential factor in assimilation. If this book had been accessible two years ago, A. Mitchell Palmer would hardly have been so prolific of misstatements regarding the immigrant press, and his opponents would have had valuable information for lack of which they often suffered. "*The Immigrant's Day in Court*," by Kate Holladay Claghorn, instructor in the New York School of Social Work, deals with a condition or set of conditions which militate strongly against any equipoise between the native and the foreign born. The systematic exploitation of the alien because of his inability to speak English and because of his lack of knowledge of American legal procedure serves to alienate where it should create a bond of sympathy.

Here is an essential lesson to be learned. "*Americans by Choice*," by John P. Gavit, will provide what is logically the last link in the chain, and is to be followed by the final book of the series, the "*Summary*," by Allen T. Burns, editor-in-chief.

NOTE 2

Selective Reading List

Schooling of the Immigrant.
Frank V. Thompson, Supt. Public Schools, Boston.

America Via the Neighborhood.
John Daniels.

Old World Traits Transplanted.
Robert E. Park, Professorial Lecturer, University of Chicago.
Herbert A. Miller, Professor of Sociology, Oberlin College.

A Stake in the Land.
Peter A. Speek, in charge, Slavic Section, Library of Congress.[1]

Immigrant Health and the Community.
Michael M. Davis, Jr., Director, Boston Dispensary.

New Homes for Old.
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Professor of Social Economy, University of Chicago.

Adjusting Immigrant and Industry (In preparation).
William M. Leiserson, Chairman, Labor Adjustment Board, New York.

The Immigrant Press and Its Control.
Robert E. Park, Professorial Lecturer, University of Chicago.

The Immigrant's Day in Court (In preparation).
Kate Holladay Claghorn, Instructor in Social Research. New York School of Social Work.

Americans by Choice (In preparation).
John P. Gavit, Vice-President, New York Evening Post.

Summary (In preparation).
Allen T. Burns, Director, Studies in Methods of Americanization.

The Interchurch Report on the Steel Strike of 1919.
(Harcourt, Brace Co.).

Public Opinion and the Steel Strike.
(Harcourt, Brace Co.).

APPENDIX E

The Rights and Duties of American Citizenship.
W. W. Willoughby.

America in the Making.
Lyman Abbott.

The American's Creed in the Making.
Matthew R. Andrews.

American Commonwealth.
James Bryce.

The New American Citizen.
Charles F. Dole.

Community Civics.
Jessie Field and Scott Nearing.

Civics for New Americans.
Mabel Hill and Philip Davis.

The American Idea Expounded by American Statesmen.
J. B. Gilder.

Preparing for Citizenship.
Wm. B. Guitteau.

Teaching of Citizenship.
Edwin H. Hughes.

Citizenship and Schools.
J. W. Jenks.

Our America.
John A. Lapp.

Civics for Americans in the Making.
Anna A. Plass.

The Immigrant, an Asset and a Liability
Frederic J. Haskin.

American Academy of Political and Social Science: Annals.
March 1909, v. 32, p. 373-379, Influence of Immigration on Agricultural Development. J. L. Coulter.

Forum, Jan. 1893, v. 14, p. 600-607.
What Immigrants Contribute to Industry. G. F. Parker.

Immigrants in American Review, Jan., 1916, v. 1, p. 46-50.
Good Citizenship—the product of giving as well as receiving. C. H. Caffin.

Missionary Review, Nov., 1919, v. 42, p. 839-844.
America's Debt to Immigration. Mrs. E. C. Waid.

Review of Reviews, March, 1907, v. 35, p. 319-328.
Why We Need the Immigrant. W. S. Rossiter.

The Immigrant Invasion.
Frank Julian Warne.

The Settlement Idea.
Arthur C. Holden.

Immigration.
Henry Pratt Fairchild.

Immigration and Labor.
Isaac P. A. Hourwich.

The Old World in the New.
E. A. Ross.

The Immigrant and the Community.
Grace Abbott.

The Immigration Problem.
J. W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck.

National Conference of Social Work, Proceedings, 1918, v. 45, p. 452-7. Foreign-Born Citizens as Political Assets.
Graham Taylor.

Literary Digest, Oct. 13, 1917, v. 55, p. 104. As to foreign-born subscribers to the first Liberty Loan.
Investigation by the Pennsylvania Railroad.

A First Book in English for Non-English Speaking Adults. Published by Chicago Ass'n of Commerce, 10 So. LaSalle St. Frances K. Wetmore, Supervisor of Day Classes for Adult Foreign-born.

Rehabilitation Monograph, Unit Course—English I—IV Washington Government Printing Office, issued by Federal Board of Vocational Education.

Primer for Foreign-speaking Women, 1918. Calif. Comm. of Immigration and Housing.
Mrs. Amanada Matthews Chase.

Americans by Adoption.
Joseph Biegler Husband.

Pilgrims of To-day.
Mary H. Wade.

State Americanization, U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1919, No. 77.
Fred Clayton Butler.

Community Americanization No. 76.
Fred Clayton Butler.

Americanization, July, 1919, v. I, p. 6.
The other side of Americanization.

U. S. Bureau of Education. List of References on Education for Citizenship (Library Leaflet No. 10, March, 1920).

First Steps in Americanization.
John J. Mahoney and C. M. Herlihy.

Americanization.
Royal Dixon.

The Invisible Censor.
Francis Hackett.

APPENDIX E

Americanization.
Winthrop Talbot.

Americanization.
Eli Mayer.

Americanization.
Carol Aronovici.

Immigration and Americanization.
Philip Davis and Bertha Schwartz.

The Soul of an Immigrant.
Constantine M. Panunzio.

The Making of a Nation.
Wentworth Stewart.

Essentials of Americanization.
Emory S. Borgardus.

American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship.
Sidney L. Gulick.

On Becoming an American.
Horace J. Bridges.

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John Fiske.

American Citizenship.
David J. Brewer.

Moral Basis of Democracy.
Arthur I. Hadley.

The Coming People.
Charles F. Dole.

What is America?
E. A. Ross.

Teaching American Ideals through Literature, Bulletin, 1918 No. 32.
Henry Newman.

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Elsie M. Rushmore.

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Immigrant Publication Society, 241 Fifth Ave., New York.

CZECHOSLOVAKS—

Bohemia Under Hapsburg Misrule.
Thomas Capek.

The Slovaks of Hungary.
Thomas Capek.

Bohemia and the Czechs.
W. S. Monroe.

Who are the Slavs—2 vol.
Paul L. Radosavljevich.

CZECHOSLOVAKS IN AMERICA—

Rekindled Fires.
Joseph Anthony.

The Czechs in America.
Thomas Capek.

The Slovaks of Cleveland.
Eleanor Edwards Ledbetter.

The Czechs of Cleveland.
Eleanor Edwards Ledbetter.

DUTCH—

Dutch Life in Town and Country.
P. H. Hough.

Home Life in Holland.
O. S. Meldrum.

DUTCH IN AMERICA—

Outbound Road.
Arnold Mulder.

FINNS—

Finland and the Finns.
Arthur Reade.

Finland To-day.
George Renwick.

Letters from Finland.
Rosalind Travers.

Finland.
Ernest Young.

APPENDIX E

GERMANS—

German Life in Town and Country.
W. H. Dawson.

Jorn Uhl.
Gustav Frenssen.

Home Life in Germany.
Cecily U. Sidgwick.

GERMANS IN AMERICA—

The German Element in the U. S.—2 vol.
A. B. Faust.

Reminiscences—3 vol.
Carl Schurz.

On Two Continents.
Marie Hansen Taylor.

HUNGARIANS—

Hungary and the Hungarians.
W. B. Forster Bovill.

Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country.
Francis H. E. Palmer.

Budapest, the City of the Magyars.
F. Berkeley Smith.

HUNGARIANS IN AMERICA.

The Magyars of Cleveland.
Huldah E. Cook

Joseph Pulitzer.
Alleyne Ireland.

Hungarians in the American Civil War.
Eugene Pivany.

ITALIANS—

Immigrant and Library.
John Foster Carr.

Italian Helps, with lists of selected books, published by Immigrant Publication Society, 241 Fifth Avenue.
John Foster Carr.

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Edward A. Steiner.

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Edward A. Steiner.

Nationalizing America.
Edward A. Steiner.

APPENDIX "F"

NOTE 1

Percentages of the Foreign-born Population and Illiteracy Percentages by States according to the 1920 Census Returns.

Name of State	Percentage of Foreign born of total Population 1920	Percentage of Illiteracy of total Population 1920
New England—		
Maine	14.01	3.3
New Hampshire	20.6	4.4
Vermont	12.6	3.0
Massachusetts	28.3	4.7
Rhode Island	29.2	6.5
Connecticut	27.7	6.2
Middle Atlantic—		
New York	27.3	5.1
New Jersey	24.	5.1
Pennsylvania	16.4	4.6
East North Central—		
Ohio	12.1	2.8
Indiana	5.	2.2
Illinois	19.1	3.4
Michigan	20.1	3.0
Wisconsin	17.	2.4
West North Central—		
Minnesota	20.5	1.8
Iowa	9.4	1.1
Missouri	5.7	3.0
North Dakota	20.	2.1
South Dakota	13.	1.7
Nebraska	12.	1.4
Kansas	6.	1.6
South Atlantic—		
Delaware	10.	5.9
Maryland	8.4	5.6
District of Columbia	8.7	2.8
Virginia	1.9	11.2
West Virginia	4.4	6.4

Name of State	Percentage of Foreign born of total Population 1920	Percentage of Illiteracy of total Population 1920
South Atlantic—*Continued.*		
North Carolina	.4	13.1
South Carolina	.7	18.1
Georgia	1.	15.3
Florida	6.	9.6
East South Central—		
Kentucky	1.	8.4
Tennessee	.8	10.3
Alabama	1.	16.1
Mississippi	.9	17.2
West South Central—		
Arkansas	1.	9.4
Louisiana	4.	21.9
Oklahoma	2.1	3.8
Texas	9.	8.3
Mountain—		
Montana	17.	2.3
Idaho	9.	1.5
Wyoming	13.	2.1
Colorado	12.	3.2
New Mexico	9.	15.6
Arizona	26.	15.3
Utah	12.	1.9
Nevada	21.	5.9
Pacific—		
Washington	18.	1.7
Oregon	13.	1.5
California	20.	3.3

It will be observed that a high percentage of foreign born does not by any means imply an equally high percentage of illiteracy with the possible exception of one or two border States where there are many Mexicans.—E. H. B.

NOTE 2

The Foreign Born and the Third Liberty Loan

The records in the Third Liberty Loan of the various nationalities are significant only in so far as they show a relationship between the representation of each

linguistic group in our population and their proportionate or disproportionate percentage response to the loan. In column 1 is seen the percentage in the foreign population of certain leading groups of our immigrants, and in column 2 the actual number of each, and in column 3 the amount each group subscribed to the third loan. The total amount subscribed by Americans of foreign descent is $741,437,000. It is estimated that this amount was subscribed by 7,061,305 individuals, which represented 41½ per cent of the total number of subscribers.

FOREIGN GROUP

	Percent in Foreign Population	Number	Bonds Taken	Per Capita Bonds Taken
Scandinavian—				
Swedes	4.5	1,455,869	$6,011,600	4.10
Norwegians	3.1	1,009,854	5,987,550	5.92
Danes	1.4	446,473	2,353,950	5.27
Latin and Greek—				
Italians	6.7	2,151,422	52,247,350	24.28
Greeks	0.4	130,379	6,638,700	50.80
French	4.2	1,357,169	2,107,850	1.55
Portuguese	0.4	141,268	1,711,150	12.11
Roumanians	0.2	51,124	272,100	5.30
Slavic and Lettic—				
Poles	5.3	1,707,040	37,583,700	22.01
Bohemian, Czechs.	1.7	539,392	31,750,550	58.86
Bulgarians	0.1	19,320	2,100	.10
Slovenians	0.6	183,431	1,569,900	8.50
Russians	0.3	95,137	2,599,600	27.50
Ukrainian-Ruthens	0.1	35,359	129,500	3.66
Serbians	0.1	26,752	142,150	5.31
Croatians	0.3	93,036	153,900	1.66
Lithuanian-Lettish	0.7	211,235	4,374,500	20.70
Germanic—				
Germans	28.5	8,817,271	87,295,000	9.90
Dutch-Frisians	1.0	324,930	80,200	.24
Flemish	0.1	44,806	875,000	19.25

(From *Bridging the Atlantic*, by Professor Sarka B. Hrbkova.)

NOTE 3

Citizenship Status of the Foreign Born

(Statement issued by the U. S. Bureau of Census, Jan. 11, 1922)

The total foreign-born white population of the United States, which numbered 13,712,754 in 1920, included 12,498,720 persons twenty-one years of age and over, of whom 6,208,697, or practically half, were naturalized. Wide differences in citizenship status appear among the natives of the various foreign countries, the proportions naturalized among those twenty-one years of age and over ranging from 74.4 per cent for the Welsh to 5.5 per cent for the Mexicans. For the five countries which contributed the largest numbers of immigrants the prcentages naturalized were as follows: Natives of Germany, 73.6; of Ireland, 66.1; of Russia, 42.1; of Italy, 29.8; and of Poland, 28.9.

The natives of these five countries formed more than half the total foreign-born white population of the United States in 1920. Limiting the comparison to persons twenty-one years of age and over, the natives of Germany numbered 1,648,884; of Italy, 1,408,933; of Russia, 1,211,337; of Poland, 1,048,050; and of Ireland, 1,021,677.

Of the total white population twenty-one years of age and over, 22.7 per cent were immigrants and 11.3 per cent were naturalized immigrants. Thus in the white population of voting age there were 146 naturalized immigrants to every 1,000 natives.

The foreign-born white population comprised 7,528,322 males and 6,184,432 females, of whom 6,928,452 males and 5,570,268 females were twenty-one years of age and over. Among the men who had reached the age of twenty-one, 47.8 per cent were naturalized, and among the women above the same age limit, 52 per cent. Under the provisions of the naturalization laws at the time the fourteenth census was taken, the citizenship status of a married woman is the same as that of her husband (although if the husband had taken out his first naturalization papers only, his wife was classified in the census returns as an alien); for an unmarried woman the process of naturalization is the same as for a man; a forien-born widow or foriegn-born divorced wife of a citizen of the United States retains the citizenship status of her former husband so long as she continues to reside in this country, and a foriegn-born widow or foreign-born divorced wife of an alien may become naturalized in the same manner as a man.

APPENDIX F

NOTE 4

Ethnic Colonization

(Reference: Commons, 1920 Edition.)

75% Russians (mainly Jews) live in cities.
20% Norwegians.
33 1/3% Swedes-Danes-Welch-Swiss.
40% English-Scotch.
50–50% Germans-Austrians-Bohemians-Poles.
66 2/3% Irish-Italians.

New York—

German population.....785,035, (same as Hamburg).
Native element.....737,477
Irish population.....710,510, (twice as many as Dublin).
Two and one-half times as many Jews as Warsaw· one-half as many Italians as Naples.

Sixty-six languages spoken in New York City.
(Reference: 13th Census—1910.)

Cleveland—

Total population	796,835
Foreign population	518,421
German	149,742
English and Irish	109,114
Polish	48,525
Czech	46,296
Slovak	20,977
Hungarian	31,628
Jewish	30,768
Italian	23,158
Jugoslav	19,332
Lithuanian	5,600
Russian	2,000
Finnish	1,000

Chicago—

Census 1910..... 29.6% were of German descent
" 1920..... 14.0% " " " "
" 1910..... 500,000
" 1920..... 400,000

Austrians in Chicago—

Census 1910.....227,358
" 1920..... 57,696

This change is due to the revision of the European map, which caused numerous changes of allegiance.

Italians in Chicago—

City Census 1916..... 16,918
" " 1920..... 20,639

Memphis, Tennessee—

7,000 Italians. Of these 780 own real estate valued at $10,945,610.

(Reference: Park and Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted.*)

Jews—

92% of all Jews found in twelve States.

Poles—

Between four and four and one-half million in United States. Large colonies at Greenpoint and Williamsburg, New York.

Jugoslavs—

Big concentration in California. Fishing and restaurant trades.

ADDITIONAL DATA OBTAINABLE

Commons, *Races and Immigrants*, p. 71.

Thirteenth Census of the United States (1910), Vol. 1, p. 130.

Jenks and Lauck, *Immigration Problems*, p. 482.

Report of Immigration Commission, Vol. 3, pp. 409, 426.

Annual Report of Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor, year ending June 30, 1919, Table 10.

NOTE 5

CONGESTION IN CITIES

(Reference: Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, 1920 Edition.)

38 Cities of 100,000 Population or Over—

Total population	14,208,347	100%
Native White	4,245,817	29%
Native White, Foreign Parent	5,280,186	34%
Foreign White	3,972,324	28%

Population of Entire Country—

Native White	40,958,216	100%
Living in cities	4,245,817	10%
Naturalized White, Foreign Parent	15,637,063	100%
Living in cities	5,280,186	33%
Foreign White	10,213,817	100%
Living in cities	3,972,324	39%

APPENDIX F

Citizens of Native Parentage—		
In cities		30%
Outside cities		59%
Foreign Parentage—		
In cities		65%
Outside cities		27%
Native population of Fall River		14%
Native population of New York and Chicago		21%
Total population of Cleveland	796,835	100%
Of Foreign Descent	518,421	65%
Of entire Jewish population in ten cities, are concentrated. Of 200,000 Slovenes in the United States, 30,000 are in Cleveland.	2,367,421	65%

NOTE 6

Three Types of Colonization in Cities

1. *Urban Colony*—Composed entirely of natives of one foreign country. Very common.
   (Reference: Daniels, *America via the Neighborhood.*)

Examples:

Pittsburgh (Steel)	Jugoslavs	78,000
	Lithuanians	75,000
	Poles	43,000
Scranton (Mining)	Poles	25,000
	Ukrainians	10,000
Lawrence (Textiles)	Lithuanians	10,000
	Poles	3,800
	Russians	1,500
Lowell (Textiles)	Poles	7,500
	Italians	1,000
	Ukrainians	2,500
Chicago (Stockyards)	Czechs	100,000
	Slovaks	20,000
	Germans	171,681
	Italians	75,000
	Poles	366,000

2. *Cosmopolitan Colony*—Very rare. Tendency to racial colonization too strong to allow promiscuous mixture of aliens.
   Example:
   Tampa, Florida—Small colony of Russians (92) have colonized with Scandinavians.

3. *Predominatingly American*—Small mixture of aliens. Usually in small cities where there are no serious social or financial difficulties. Occurs where a member of the foreign colony becomes prosperous, speaks English, and moves out.
   Example:
   Any better-class section of a city.

ADDITIONAL DATA OBTAINABLE

Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, p. 160.
Report of Immigration Commission, Vol. 3, p. 420.
Jenks and Lauck, *Immigration Problem*, chapter VIII; also p. 427.

NOTE TO PAGE 60

The agricultural condition of the Jews mentioned on page 60 has somewhat recently undergone a marked change. The report just issued of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Society states that while twenty-two years ago there were only 216 Jewish farm families in the United States, the number today exceeds 60,000. In 1900 the total acreage owned by Jewish farmers was 12,029, while today more than 1,000,000 acres are farmed by Jews.

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I am greatly indebted to the kindness of Miss Dorothy Rolfe for the compilation of this Index. E. H. B.

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